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30 June 1982

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

WEEKLY CRITICIZES REAGAN'S LONDON SPEECH

PM111021 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Jun 82 p 9

[Unattributed article: "The American Requirement"]

[Text] President Reagan fulfilled the dream of his life when he addressed a joint session of the British House of Lords and House of Commons, and, on a personal level, may have eliminated the American inferiority complex.

The U.S. president chose the British Parliament as the venue for voicing his support for Mrs Thatcher's government in her war on the Falklands, and for adopting the British view that the recapture of the islands is not merely a recapture of barren land but an implementation of the political principle that an aggressor must not be rewarded.

In that same speech, Reagan referred to the Middle East. He called on the Israelis to withdraw from Lebanese territory, but he did not describe them as aggressors, and he did not say that aggressors must not be allowed to succeed. On the contrary, he automatically linked the desired Israeli withdrawal to a need for putting an end to the Palestinian armed struggle which he called "terrorism."

In practical implementation of this rhetorical oscillation of the U.S. president, his representative at the Security Council vetoed the draft resolution calling for a cease-fire in Lebanon.

The American requirement, which is also a requirement of others, is that the Israeli military invasion of Lebanon should continue and that the aggression by one state against the territory of another should be overlooked with stress on "terrorists" when describing the Palestinians.

The requirement of the Americans, and others, is that the Palestinian independent presence should be terminated. Unfortunately, there is no Arab requirement that the American presence should be terminated.

CSO: 4400/338

## BRIEFS

ISRAEL-LEBANESE BANK CONTACT--The Bank of Israel has contacted the representatives of the Central Bank of Lebanon with the aim of opening bank branches in Tyre, Sidon and other towns controlled by Israel. The Bank of Israel personnel have announced their readiness to help maintain the Lebanese banks and organize work there and supply, wherever necessary, competent professional manpower and equipment. Our correspondent Gid'on Rotem reports that in the next few days some banks will be reopened on a trial basis. For the moment, IDF soldiers are watching the bank branches in the captured areas to prevent break-ins and looting. [Text] [TA211421 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 21 Jun 82]

LEBANESE BORDER CUSTOMS OPEN--Three customs stations were opened yesterday on the Lebanese border, and will operate 5 days a week. Until now there were only two border stations which operated twice a week. The customs stations are planned to handle Israeli merchandise exported to Lebanon, while importing from Lebanon is strictly forbidden at the moment. The border stations handle bills of lading in order to enable exporters to receive financing and exemption from value added tax, just as with any other exports. The border stations are at Biranit, Hanita and Metulla, where banks have also opened. At the entrance points from Lebanon into Israel there are military police check points intended to prevent merchandise from Lebanon, whether bought or looted, from being brought to Israel. [Report by Shlomo Ma'oz] [Excerpt] [TA231140 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 23 Jun 82 p 8]

MEDICAL AID TO LEBANESE, OTHERS--Over the last 10 days 436 people from Lebanon were hospitalized in Israel hospitals. Most of them are civilians, but 159 of them are Syrian and terrorist captives. Several wounded regular Lebanese Army soldiers were also hospitalized. So far the Health Ministry has sent to southern Lebanon 20 ambulances, a blood mobile, physicians, including specialists, many medics and large quantities of medical equipment and medicines. Another load of medical equipment is packed and ready for transportation. In addition to this aid the IDF Health Corps continues to treat the southern Lebanese residents. [Text] [TA201124 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 20 Jun 82]

BAHRAIN-TUNISIA COOPERATION AGREEMENT--Tunis, 19 Jun (WAKH)--A cooperation agreement was signed between Tunisia and Bahrain in Tunis today. The agreement involves fields of economy, higher education, youth, sports, culture, air-freight, communications and industry. The agreement also includes the provision of Tunisian teachers, doctors and engineers to work in Bahrain. On the Tunisian side the agreement was signed by Ahmed Ben (Arfah Safir), director of the world cooperation department and on the Bahraini side by Jasim abu 'Allay, director of economic affairs department at the Bahraini Foreign Ministry. [Excerpts] [GF191920 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1445 GMT 19 Jun 82]

ISRAELI DRUZE TO LEBANON--Forty Druze religious and secular leaders headed by Shaykh Amin Tarif today visited Hashayya and other Druze religious sites. This is the first visit by Israeli Druze to this religious site in 35 years. The Israeli visitors conferred with their southern Lebanese brethren and they invited them to visit religious sites in Israel. [Excerpt] [TA161736 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1730 GMT 16 Jun 82]

ISRAELI MONEY TO LEBANESE HOSPITALS--The Health Ministry will allocate 600,000 Israeli shekels to hospitals in Tyre and Sidon to finance their urgent expenses. This is reported by our correspondent, Elihu Ben-on. Health Minister Eli'ezer Shostak announced that this allocation comes in addition to the equipment and medical assistance extended to the Lebanese inhabitants. [Text] [TA161801 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 16 Jun 82]

IDA LOANS FOR YEMENS--Washington, 22 Jun (KUNA)--Both North and South Yemen will be receiving new development loans from the World Bank's soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA), it was announced here. IDA has approved a \$7.5 million credit for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The funds will help finance a second power project aimed at bringing electricity to rural areas around al-Mukalla, the country's second largest city. The Yemen Arab Republic will receive a \$7 million IDA credit to assist a fourth highway project. Plans call for building an asphalt overlay and flood protection works for the 61-kilometer 'Ta'iz-al-Mafraq road, a key link in North Yemen's road network. [Text] [GF231140 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 23 Jun 82 p 7]

U.S.' PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF INVASION--'AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT' has learned from a senior CIA source that the White House knew about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon 26 hours before it occurred. A CIA memorandum to the White House said that the Israeli invasion forces would not go beyond 25 km. The United States asked the Israelis not to launch their attack before President Reagan's departure for Europe. The source says that the United States told Syria that the aim of the Israeli campaign would be the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance in southern Lebanon. He added that the United States asked Syria not to join in the fighting and affirmed that the SAM missiles would not be harmed in the course of the invasion. The United States also guaranteed that any Syrian losses resulting from the invasion would be compensated. Begin changed his plans at the last moment, and, acting against U.S. instructions, attacked the SAM missiles. Political analysts believe that the cease-fire in Lebanon is part of a plan to give the Israelis time to encircle the Palestinians. [Text] [PM161511 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 16 Jun 82 p 1]

PALESTINIAN TRAVEL TO JORDAN--Khalid 'Ubaydat, the Jordanian ambassador in Doha, has said that new measures have been taken to facilitate the travel of Palestinians to Jordan, particularly those with travel documents from the Arab Republic of Egypt. In a statement to AL-RAYAH he said that all those wishing to spend their summer vacations in Jordan should refer to the consular section of the Jordanian Embassy. [Text] [GF111621 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 10 Jun 82 p 1]

FEAR OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM ANALYZED

Tunis DEMOCRATIE in French Mar 82 pp 13-15

[Part II of article by Mohammad 'Ali Halouani: "Who Is Afraid of the Islamites?"; part I published in JPRS 80310 of 12 Mar 82, No 2504 of this series, pp 123-129]

[Text] In the first part of this article, we tried to show the general trend of the Islamic movement like that of any single-dimensional ideological-political movement, this in order to expose the logic inherent in such a movement: a totalitarian logic by necessity. Moreover, we took advantage of the opportunity to undertake a critique of the arguments regarded as being those on which the Islamic trend is based: the "nationalist" positions, on the one hand, and the Marxist or Marxistic analyses, on the other.

It then became apparent to us that neither group had in fact adequately understood the Islamic phenomenon and that it is perhaps for that very reason that the confrontation with the movement on the political level has sometimes taken the form of violence and repression and sometimes of shameful, cowardly subservience.

In this effort we have made to come to grips with this lack of understanding, we have tried to put our finger on that which, in the nationalist or Marxist positions prevented an accurate representation of the reality of the Islamic phenomenon.

For the former, it appeared that the problem stemmed from a rather rigid type of thought: The national struggle is the very type and perfect model of the true revolution, so that once achieved, any social upheaval would be considered as a betrayal and a rebellion. For the latter, it is, in our opinion, the economist thought that seems to be at the root of the failure to understand the major political phenomena of our time.



## II. Revolution or Revolutions

### Relationship of Production and Revolution

At the conclusion of our analysis, we came to the crucial question: that of the revolution.

Is it necessary, under the empire of world capitalism, for there to be a contradiction between the forces of production and the social relationship of production in order to finally see men rise up as a single man and brave those who once held them in the tight net of exploitation and domination? Is the socialist revolution (in the Marxist sense) the only procedure worth following in the hope of a radical and definitive liberation?

Posing the question in this way is important because, in fact, orthodox Marxists do not, in our opinion, pose it in another way. What they are obviously seeking is to determine the degree of aggravation of this contradiction in a given social formation. The greater this contradiction, the more revolutionary the situation would be and as a result, the struggle would be more "objectivized" or legitimate.

### Marxist Arguments and National Struggles

But what is one then to think of the national struggles for decolonization? Are they a mere tempest in a teapot? Would entire nations have found pleasure, as in Stif in Algeria, in losing 45,000 people in a single day, cut down like dogs by the demonic guns of the colonial power, only to have supposedly seasoned political observers view such happenings as mere episodes in the class struggle on a world scale, an epiphenomenon?!

Did the Tunisian Marxists of colonial times not more or less come to the conclusion of the futility of a national struggle since independence, even if it were achieved, would do nothing but throw us into the hands of imperialism when it is precisely a question of fighting it?! Why then try to get rid of a colonial power at all costs if the seeds of imperialism -- capitalism -- are not fought at the root in a radical fashion? But that is the rub because since the proletariat at the time was numerically too small and the degree of development of the productive forces very low, the conditions for the accomplishment and expansion of a "truly" revolutionary struggle could not be found in our country. One can very well guess that for the theoreticians at the time, this was not just a minor problem! How, in fact, was one to reconcile the theory that saw in the social structure in question the elements that would set off a revolutionary process worthy of the name when the great masses, in their superb ignorance of theories, were stubbornly demanding, not the eradication of the capitalist type of production -- that was not at all what was bothering them -- but rather, national independence! In other words, it was the very thing that the Marxists considered to be folly, politically incoherent and absurd because in acting in such a fashion, one would be wasting precious energy driving the enemy out the door when one knows perfectly well that he is going to come back in through the window!



In the end, the solution was not long in coming: The energy that would mistakenly be squandered on fighting a false enemy should perhaps be saved for the time of the last battle, the battle that would destroy the capitalist mode of production itself. And since it is rather elusive and in the budding stages in our country, while beginning to waiver and collapse in the mother country, would it not be wiser for the proletariat in both countries to join hands and deliver the coup de grace to the class that was the cause of their common misery?! Truly, this was a most elegant solution because it would make it possible for the theory in distress to save face and for the restless people to have a healthier reason for their just anger, giving it a more noble goal to achieve, while postponing independence indefinitely!

#### Inadequacy of Marxist Arguments

However, against the secret wishes of many arguments and contrary to all expectations, it was the nationalist argument for independence that prevailed and that was able, not only to mobilize the masses, but also, to assume leadership of the political and even trade union struggles, when traditionally, the trade unions were the stronghold of the communist-leaning CGT [General Confederation of Labor] members at the time.

Here is one example that minds lost in the haze of Marxist orthodoxy can meditate upon: How can the people deviate so inconsiderately from the objective future laid out for them by the lofty laws of history?

Are they (the people) manifestly mistaken in their choice, those people who, according to some, are never mistaken? Did the nationalist leaders trick them, as sometimes happens, with the lullaby of independence, those people who, however, are led by a proletarian avant-garde nurtured at the very sources of the social sciences and from whom, in principle, nothing escapes? Perhaps it was, in the final analysis, only an error in analysis on the part of the avant-garde, but even if that were so, does "science" not include in its dialectical movement the negative factor and margin of error as a component part of the truth? And therefore?

If, in fact, this type of analysis did not receive the vote of history, it is not so much because it supposedly concealed some weakness leading to error, but rather, in our opinion, because it is not based on a correct theory of relations between the infrastructure and the superstructure, as we have already seen.

To be more precise, this analysis is false because it brings in a type of relationship between phenomena which, although considered to be dialectical, is nevertheless a relationship of determination lacking in any specificity because, as everyone knows, the enunciation of a mere relationship of determination between two phenomena is not an adequate proposition to interpret a natural phenomenon scientifically. For example, to say, in electricity, that when tension (DDP [potential difference]) increases, the intensity of the current increases, remains a purely descriptive proposition in the eyes of science because it does not specify to what extent the intensity increases when the tension applied to the circuit increases. And if this is true for a relationship

of simple determination, what then can be said of a dialectical-type that is necessarily more complex?

What we mean is that a political analysis based on Marxist methodology often makes the mistake of deducing a series of political events starting with a series of economic events and using simple implication as the logical operator or, in more intelligent analyses, more complex logical operators which they call dialectics and which, once stripped of their philosophical aura, may be related to cybernetic-type relationships: retroaction or feedback.

Now then, to deduce a particular phenomenon -- the events of 26 January, for example -- through a logical deduction of this kind is doomed to sterility for, inasmuch as one does not know to what extent and by what complex algorithm one moves from one element to the next, the deduction -- which is, in principle, to be discovered by an unknown -- then turns out to be the affirmation, now become trite, that it is the rise of the workers struggles and the worsening of contradictions within bourgeois society that were at the root of the events. However, because it does not reveal the inner mechanism of this determination, but rather, is content to show its vague relationship, the affirmation is of no help, either in understanding the phenomenon or in acting on it.

Furthermore, and no matter how much such a relationship can be made specific -- which serious and competent analysts can certainly undertake -- this could actually show us only one of the many facets of reality. In other words, even if the relationship is very specific, that would not give us a much greater understanding of the political phenomena in question for, as we found in the first part of this article, once produced, the ideological or political spheres interact with the other social entities in keeping with their own laws and not based on economic or other causes that nevertheless produced them.

In short, what is lost in analyzing political events in this way is precisely the pertinence of such events to all of society and, failing to understand the real importance and pertinence of extraeconomic factors in the genesis of revolutions and major upheavals, one thereby loses the possibility of acting on them.

#### Revolution: Phenomenon of Unblocking

In the final analysis, we must get away from the agonizingly sterile idea to the effect that today, there can only be a revolution in the noble sense of the word when contradictions between production relationships and the social relationships of production have reached a peak, with any other form of convulsion in society being only a sham, a revolution that has been betrayed or led astray, a skirmish or mere uprising!

Or perhaps one will have to accept the idea that revolution is to be used in the plural rather than in the singular!

In a sense, there would then be a revolution every time that there occurs, in a given social group, a process -- always characteristic of the society and which encourages it to break, at the economic, political and ideological

levels, with a kind of exploitation that has with time turned into a type of blockage of the productive forces, a blockage whose roots are most frequently found, not in the economic factors themselves, but in extraeconomic factors such as race (ethnic groups), color, religion or cultural affiliation.

### Colonial Blockage

The example of the national struggles for independence can in fact show us how such a process begins. If, in a colony, the exploitation of an entire people is often attributed today to a superiority of the economic machinery of the ruler over the ruled -- which in history has not always been the case -- the economic exploitation which a people endures is nevertheless not, in the final analysis, the fundamental reason causing them to rebel.

The Tunisians were definitely exploited, but the exploitation they suffered during the colonial period was not primarily due to the fact that the development of productive forces in Tunisia was inferior to that of France. This undoubtedly played a role in the initiation of the colonization process, but its pertinence stops there.

Let us admit that the Tunisians were exploited more because they were Tunisians -- that is, not French -- than because they were workers, for example. To be more precise, let us say that the Tunisians were exploited on two different levels: that of the exploitation stemming from the place they occupy in the production process, but also -- and this is more important -- that of their ethnic and cultural affiliation, and this form of exploitation, one which attacks productive forces on such a level, is forced to attack the people as a whole, for the criteria in the name of which it acts (cultural affiliation or ethnic group) are, in a sense, a common denominator of all Tunisians, no matter what their class.

Many will certainly think, in the illustration of this intervention of extra-economic factors in the exploitation of those colonized, of the fact that Tunisians and French did not receive equal pay for equal work.

But more than that, we would especially think of that form of exploitation which finds no place in Marxist literature and whose roots lie, not in the extirpation of added value as such, but the institution in society of a net split, a visible dichotomy between the exploiters, on the one hand, and the exploited, on the other.

### Pertinence of Extraeconomic Factors in Domination

Actually, any conqueror believes that he has that atavistic legitimacy of the great conquerors and founders of empires of immediately treating the conquered people as a people inferior by nature and by right.

That is where an aggressive ideology is drafted -- a veritable war machine whose sordid effectiveness we are only beginning to glimpse -- an ideology based on a double requirement: first of all, maintaining a kind of distinction that can function as a visible, eloquent sign of the difference, a sign which,

previously neutral, now takes on new significance, to wit, as the symbol and very expression of the condition of "natural" servitude or inferiority; and second, proceeding by means of the split, which is in no way natural or economically related, to the unbridled exploitation of the population, having used the strategem to block for a time the legitimate aspiration of the workers or, more precisely, of men in general to move up the ladder as far as their own worth would allow them and to go after political, decision-making posts when they so desire.

"You are Tunisian, you are Algerian," the colonialist seems to say, "so that's it, that's the way it is. Your skin color, race and culture have decided for you. For all time to come, you will be subhuman, you and yours. Your horizon is dark and your fate that of a beast of burden: to work, suffer and keep silent! After all, a Tunisian or an Algerian, you understand, can only be subhuman and it would therefore be only fair to treat him as such."

Not content to exploit workers on the basis of the extirpation of added value alone and no longer able to overexploit workers at home, as they are hardened to it, capitalism immediately inaugurated the imperialist era through a direct colonial phase whose secret, as we have just shown, was, in the case of a given people, to block, by the force of its military, economic, political and ideological presence, the free deployment of agents of production at all levels of production (both economic and political) for the tragic purpose of using them unchecked, without limit and without further ado.

#### Pertinence of "Nationalist" Arguments

That this operation, colonization, drew its effectiveness from the ideological and political sphere is now beyond the shadow of a doubt and it is certainly for that very reason that the only ones to understand what happened during the national struggles for independence were those who understood that the key to the whole operation lay, not in economic exploitation -- which is inherent here and which plays only a subsidiary role -- but rather, in the death sentence pronounced by the colonial power for an entire people, a sentence which, by depriving it of its humanity, was aimed at thereby removing any possibility of questioning the domination. That is what a M'hamed Ali El Hammi understood well in fighting for an autonomous Tunisian union or a Farhat Hached, whose famous slogan was "Dignity before bread!" That is also what the Neo Destourian Party understood, with its great leading figures, in basing its fight on first recognizing a sovereign national entity rather than on the class struggle.

#### Mobilization

All of this clearly shows us how those who succeeded in putting their finger on the mechanism that mercilessly crushed nationals -- even if they did not generally fully understand it (theoretically) -- were able to mobilize the masses, while the others were not.

How then can one fail to consider this enormous struggle to regain the dignity of man as a revolution, a true revolution?

Perhaps it is not according to the meaning given to it by Marxists, who view as a revolution only one that would totally eliminate exploitation in all forms. But are we forced to view as trivial and pitiful those social accomplishments which nevertheless alleviate our burden because quite simply, we have not reached paradise? Must we reduce to nothingness the importance of that qualitative leap consisting in the emergence on the scene of nations of the Tunisian as a citizen -- that is, as a legally free man and not as a subject (?) because we are aware that the local bourgeoisies are now but a disguised stage of imperialism?! In short, how does today's wrong imply the rejection of yesterday's achievements?

That our national revolution was not accompanied by a revolution in the mode of production is a truth that no one would question. But to put down national revolutions by labeling them as a step backward or vast swindles because the mode of production was not revolutioned along the way -- as some leftists love to repeat -- is not only the mark of serious political immaturity, but also and above all, the admission of an unspeakable theoretical obscurantism.

#### Revolutionary Process in Iran

We now come to the conclusion of a reasoning that will enable us, based on the definition of revolution of that we have worked out, the definition which takes extraeconomic factors as the most pertinent of the event, to finally pose the question that interests us above all and to try, insofar as possible, to find an answer.

What is the underlying mechanism of the events that shook Iran and led to the ouster of the comprador bourgeoisie that had sold out to the interests of imperialism?

It would be interesting here to draw a parallel between the complex process that led the peoples under the yoke of imperialism to fight the colonial presence forcefully and violently and the process that is now glimmering on the horizon of that old land of Islam.

Can one detect in Iran a process of blockage that would have been so exacerbated that it produced a process of unblocking or a revolutionary process and that would therefore be cable, because of the formidable forces it liberates, to effectively mobilize the great masses with a view to a very unequal struggle between the rulers and the ruled?

In order to answer that question, one would have to elucidate, first of all, the matter of the mode of production in Iran and its changes before going on to see what type of power would have been at the root of this situation of blockage.

Specialists know well that one of the most controversial problems in sociology is that of the determination of the mode of production for so-called Third World countries, not only for modern times, but for the classical period also.



Did Iran have a feudal type of production, for example? Or, as K. Wittfogel maintains in his book, did it have Oriental despotism, an Asian mode of production?

We believe that Paul Vieille's analyses in "La Feodalite et l'Etat en Iran" [Feudality and the Government in Iran] are very enlightening on this point. The production mode in Iran was apparently feudal, but feudal in a very special way. It would be definitely tedious within the limited scope of this article to develop these arguments to the full extent, but we can nevertheless sum up the main lines behind them:

Unlike the Western feudal state, which became centralized only later with the formation of the great monarchies, the Iranian feudal state was centralized from the very beginning. This peculiarity, which Samir Amin skillfully points out in many of his writings, calling it the "tributary mode of production," reportedly permitted a specific articulation of social and political relationships between the feudal state and the dominated masses, relationships based, not on military force or a contract as in the West or on the terrorism of a certain Oriental despotism, as has sometimes been assumed, but rather, on the fact that, as P. Vieille notes, with no knowledge (in practice) of the "contract" or of its power of establishing status and of freeing both the superior and the inferior party from insecurity, these relationships are circumstantial and relative.

In this case, the power of an individual is not based on a worth legitimized by tradition or economic rationality, for example (threat-protection), with the government then being the instrument of that generalized uncertainty, which itself guarantees the fluidity of the system. This is why, moreover, that in such modes of production, ideology or political considerations are dominant.

With the Mosaddeq "constitutional revolution," a budding national bourgeoisie had tried to take the country's destiny in hand, projecting substantial structural transformations, but the restoration put an end to this process and it was rather a state bourgeoisie, essentially emanating from the old feudal stock, that undertook the so-called "white revolution" and which was actually -- in the guise of an agrarian reform -- nothing more than a takeover by the secular government of Iran of the land, means of production and the few remnants of power that, with time and the dismemberment of society, had escaped its control.

In other words, Iran over the centuries has not emerged from that web of tributary-type relationships, despite its abortive entry into the world capitalist market through its fabulous sales of black gold, which also means that modern Iranian society has experienced its major economic changes, not under the sign of the rationality of the Western bourgeois economy, with its whole legal, institutional and political structure, but rather, under that of its previous tributary political structures, in other words, those of a subtle triangular interplay in which individuals, more than classes, are constantly ballied back and forth between a protective but exploitive government and a lower- and

intermediate-level administration (gendarmes and tax collectors) who threaten and force peasants, artisans or merchants to seek refuge and protection in the higher realms of power in exchange -- naturally -- for an income tax.

#### Process of Blockage

We are tempted -- and this is what we wanted to get at -- to see, in this form of power in a country on the imperialist periphery, the emergence of constitutive elements of the process of blockage which we said would be at the root of major popular uprisings.

We could claim that the process of blockage here was instituted as soon as the dependent bourgeoisie, relying on the authority of the old feudal castes, undertook to reestablish in its own behalf the old triangular game of which we spoke and which functioned perfectly for centuries, without realizing that in acting in such a fashion, it was tempting the devil.

In his admirable book: "Manifesto for Democracy" (in Arabic), Borhane Ghali-oune paints a remarkably lucid picture of a similar situation in the Arab world.

The tenants of this analysis are that the dependent bourgeoisies institute in the societies they dominate a new split and which never existed previously, even during the gloomiest periods.

From a situation in which the exploited masses always maintained a real relationship of protection (in exchange for a fee) with the dominant class against the exactions of a structurally threatening administration; from a situation, therefore, in which those masses were in a way organically represented, through these relationships, in the high spheres of government, these same masses found themselves, when the old land-owning, feudal bourgeoisie turned into a state bourgeoisie, suddenly caught up in a vast movement of marginalization with respect to all of society.

#### Marginalization of Lower-Income Classes

This marginalization is in a sense fed by the very operation of the dominated type of production in which the comprador bourgeoisie or the state bourgeoisie evolve in the country, not as an internal, endogenous body, but as a foreign body, exactly as the colonial administration would do.

This process of marginalizing the broad masses is in fact of cardinal importance because it explains how the deterioration of the tributary production relationships when not accompanied by the replacement of the mode of domination by another more adequate one leads directly, at the political level, to this situation of quasi colonial blockage, to wit, that the effect of the added value is no longer determined only by the place which the agent occupies in the production circuit, but also -- and this is more important -- by the place which the agent occupies in the society with respect to the state bourgeoisie.

In fact, insofar as the omnipotence and omnipresence of the government make all form of organization of the people's struggles organizational forms whose

task would be to set up the foundations for new forms of capitalist power, insofar as any law is diverted and any contract considered as a pure formality, the only possible and effective recourse therefore remains these types of relationships that are feudal as well as anachronistic. However, while these types of relationship still operate within the dominant classes themselves, they no longer operate as a relationship between the dominant and the dominated, which clearly means that the broad dominated masses are left to themselves and therefore see themselves, because of their origin or class affiliation, doomed to their misery, without even the hope of that social mobility permitted by the "fluidity" of the old system or that permitted by the new system if it had operated according to the scheme of the central formations.

In this society in which such a process of blockage has occurred, we finally find -- and this was our purpose -- a society divided into two enemy parts: one in the minority, but possessing all the power, and the other a multitude of dominated classes moving further and further in the direction of marginalization, total exclusion and, what is more important, toward the establishment of a broad mass exploited in the name of a criterion in no way economic: that of the degree of structural and especially ideological affiliation with the Western world.

The fact is that once the bridges are burned between the ruler and the ruled, the machinery breaks down and everything is then placed in the service of widening the gap separating them. Even education, which is nevertheless brandished by many as the philosophers' stone of this social mobility that is the guarantee of smooth operation of institutions can also be considered, in many ways, as one of the most pernicious instruments in the service of that split. The people may learn to read and write but as they gain in culture, they lose permanently their traditional popular culture or, in other words, their essence, an essence not taught in the schools but which was the task of all society.

In the end, we have before us, on the one hand, a literate people now without culture (having lost the form of culture accessible to them but no longer so because of the modern capitalist structures) and, on the other hand, a dominant class that is educated and cultivated but in a Western way.

#### Islam and Revolution

That is very likely why, with the line of demarcation being here the Western ideology as a whole, it is that ideology and the classes that are its supports that have been the object of the repeated attacks of the Iranian Islamic movement. It is therefore the traditional substance of that old culture whose soul is Islam which, because it served as an argument for and sign of that new domination just as ethnic affiliation was once for colonization, now has the formidable task of shaking off the yoke of oppression, in its own name and in the name of the values it represents. It is then a fair turnabout that the very weapon which was used for the crime turns against the criminal when he expects it the least.



After all that has been said, it therefore turns out that the great upheavals, far from being purely economic events, reveal themselves to be social processes of an unprecedented ideological richness. Neither one's analysis nor the politician can ignore this under penalty of sterility.

It also appears that the Islamic movement, contrary to what many think, beginning with the Islamites themselves, drew its force solely from the fact that it was chosen and selected by the process of blockage, as ethnic affiliation was elsewhere, and not because of a strange and metaphysical principle which Islam itself might contain as a religion.

#### Exemplary Nature of the Iranian Case

In conclusion, let us say that Iran is not for us a distant sky and that consequently, what happened there could one day happen in our own country, except that, just as we demonstrated its mechanism, it would only be possible if, against all wisdom, one would allow the establishment between those governing and the governed of a relationship of domination of the type described in Iran and thereby encourage a process of blockage. For in the final analysis, what we called "revolution" in Iran was only stillborn, inasmuch as at a very time when it emerged and began to blossom, a dictatorship, that of the ayatollahs, had already taken the place of the old one. Because of its nature, the revolution could not reach the last link in the chain, a change in the nature of the relationship of domination.

#### Only Tyrants Are Afraid

But precisely because the political class in our country has apparently not totally understood the gravity of the process, believing itself immunized forever against a popular uprising by a kind of creationist political thought, as we have already stated, it is time to notice that actually, it is the governments in power which should, more than any other, be afraid, not of the Islamic movement as such -- and that is a lesson -- but more precisely, of that necessary movement that comes with the precision of an oracle if, out of obscurantism and their archaic nature, leaders do not see that the future of peoples, no matter what the ups and downs, is a lay, democratic, socialist society.

11,464  
CSO: 4519/188

DATA ON FRIENDSHIP BRIDGE, HAIRATAN PORT PUBLISHED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 8 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

With the construction of the Friendship Bridge, the work of 85 unit establishments of the Hairatan port have been completed before the scheduled period.

In addition to the Friendship Bridge built on the Amu (Oxus) river, which links the Hairatan port of the Balkh province with the Termez city of the Uzbekistan SSR, some other major establishments have also been constructed in order to facilitate customs and trade which covers an area of about 22.4 hectares of land.

This was stated by Dr Wali Mohammad Rasouli, president of the technical and research board of the Public Works Ministry, to the Kabul New Times in an interview on the construction of the bridge and the constructions of the Hairatan port.

Dr Rasouli said: "From the natural and geological point of view, Hairatan port is the most proper place for the construction work of the bridge comparing with other parts in the course of the river".

Its construction began in 1358 H.S. The main aim behind the project was to facilitate transport of the import and export goods.

"Though the idea of designing and constructing this bridge has been there for years in both Afghanistan and the USSR for the exports and imports, after completing a series of surveys and feasibility studies from the economic, engineering and project-making viewpoints, the construction was forgotten by the then Governments. And, after the victory of the Saur Revolution, the DRA Public Works Ministry proposed the construction to the Soviet Union and a contract for the purpose was concluded in 1357 H.S.", Dr. Rasouli recalled.

The major role of the bridge is not only considerable in the development of export and imports between the two countries. It will al-

so help the DRA in forging links with European countries and important trade ports abroad through the USSR. It will also accelerate the achievement of the maximum transport volume, which will reach 1.2 million tons during the current Afghan year.

The construction began in mid-1358, and was completed on Saur 22, 1361 (May 12, 1982), (that is, in two and a half years—and about one year ahead of schedule). Of course, the most important factor behind this creditable performance was "the untiring work of the experts, engineers and workers of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union", Dr. Rasouli said.

After the contract for the bridge was concluded between the DRA Public Works Ministry and the Institute of the Techno-Stroy-Export of the USSR, the

materials have been prepared and supplied by the Soviet institute.

The Soviet experts carried out the major construction work of the project while the maintenance was looked after by the experts of the DRA Public Works Ministry.

The most advanced technology and highly sophisticated techniques, which are the scientific gains of the progressive and friendly countries, were used in the construction. And, most of the montage work was carried out by the outstanding experts, engineers and technicians of Afghanistan.

The bridge was built at a total cost of 33.7 million rouble, 50 per cent of which is the share of Afghan side which was allocated from the long-term credit of the friendly Soviet Union.

This is the biggest ever bridge built in Afghanistan. It was the unique capacity in the region for trains and vehicles.

Iron rails and reinforced iron and concrete roads were laid out on the bridge.

The total length of the bridge is 817 metres and its width including the feeder roads, is 10.8 metres, and its average height from the water level is 7.5 metres. The bridge also has nine spans with 89 metres length each. The railway track passes through the middle while the feeder roads are on its two sides. Light and heavy trucks can also pass over the bridge.

In addition to the bridge, other big establishments covering 22.4 hectares of land were built in the Hairatan port. These establishments include administration buildings, residential areas, a customs house, a platform for passengers, a fumigation house, hungars, warehouses for keeping import-export commodities, energy-producing centres, an irrigation network and canals, central heating, a power installation and so on.

The contract for these was concluded between the DRA Public Works Ministry and the Foreign Transportation Construction Organisation of the USSR on June 19, 1980. And the construction began in September 1980. And, according to the working programme, only 60 units ought to have been completed by May 12. But, due to the hard work of the Afghan and Soviet engineers and technicians, 85 small and large construction units were completed and delivered to the Afghan side.

These cost 36 million roubles, 13 million of which were allocated from the long-term credit of the friendly Soviet Union.

Since the Soviet friends helped to complete the construction of the bridge one year ahead of schedule, this directly encouraged the acceleration of the construction of the Hairatan project complexes resulting in progress similarly overtaking the programme.

This was achieved despite all climatic and geographical difficulties.

"It is worth mention that

the projects delivered to the Afghan side from the Soviet Union were evaluated to be of "excellent standard", and the services and toil of our Soviet friends in the construction of the Hairatan complexes are appreciated", Dr Rasouli reaffirmed.

He gave the following details on the structure of the Hairatan complex:

1. The total area of complex is 22.4 hectares, and the constructed area until May 12 is 7.8 hectares.

2. The closed built areas of hungars is 7,776 square metres and the open area 7,776 square metres.

3. The area of the passengers' open platform is 5,119 square metres, the consignment unloading square, 10,206 square metres, the administrative office buildings 21,460 square metres; the total length of the railway is 10.5 kms, and the length of the motor roads 5.7 kms.

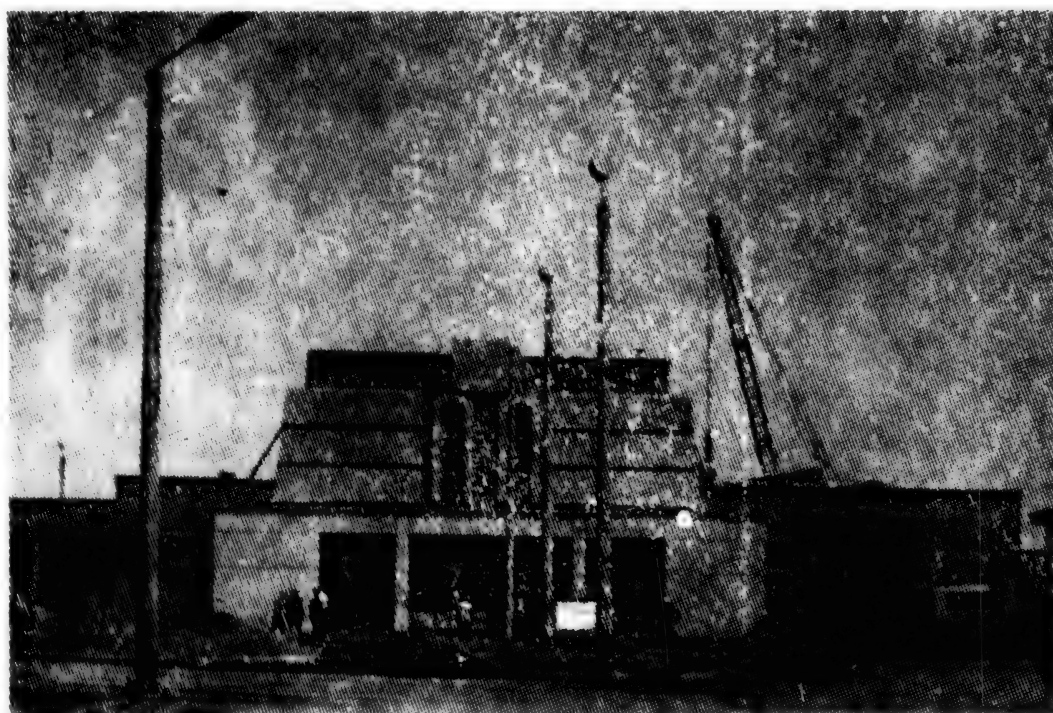
4. The customs house establishments cover 0.7 hectares out of which 0.08 hectares are asphalted, the customs house building was built on 0.43 hectares and 3,430 square metres are under construction.

5. The residential area with seven buildings including 18 apartments is built on 5,180 square metres.

6. Loading establishments built on the Hairatan port has a capacity of 740,000 tons at present and this will be raised with the completion of the second phase of the complex.



The newly built Friendship Bridge on the Amu River



A scene of the new Hairatan port hanger

CSO: 4600/561

## UNION OF JOURNALISTS COUNCIL HOLDS PLENUM

GF100745 Kabul in English to South Asia 1530 GMT 9 Jun 82

[Text] The 2d plenum of the Central Council of the Union of Journalists of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) was opened (?yesterday) at the Ariana Hotel with the playing of the national anthem of DRA.

The opening ceremony of the 2d plenum of the Central Council of the Journalists Union of DRA was attended by Mahmud Barialay, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of PDPA, a number of members of the CC PDPA, a number of the (?presidents) and members of the writers, poets and artists unions of the DRA and by a number of journalists.

At the beginning of the plenum, [words indistinct] by (Haidar Mas'ud) the president of the Journalists Union, the basic reports of the session were read out by the responsible secretary of the union.

In a part of the report it has been stated that the Journalists Union of DRA, as a professional organization of the journalists of the country and as one of the pillars of National Fatherland Front (NFF) has the duty to strengthen the creative struggle of progressive journalism for helping the process of the deepening of the and giving (?actual process of history) of the PDPA of Afghanistan as the leading force of the Afghan society, peoples and struggle.

Organizational matters were also raised at the plenum and honoring the ability and productivity of the members, a number of members were promoted to membership of the Central Council, the Presidium, and deputy chairmanship of the union.

(Abdul Latif Sazuni) and Dr Mahmud Habibi were elected as the new deputy chairmen of the union, seven new persons were accepted for the Presidium, and 26 others for the Central Council of the union.

After the delivering of speeches, the text of the protest of the Union of Journalists of DRA, on the condemnation of the aggressive acts of Israel on Lebanon, and on the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon was read out.

(?In) a part of the protest it has been stated, declaring our full support and solidarity with the Palestinian cause and the just demands of the Middle East regarding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the occupationist Israeli forces, we ask for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon.

CSO: 4600/572

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

DOST MEETS UN SECRETARY GENERAL--Kabul, 12 Jun, BAKHTAR--Shah Mohammed Dost, minister of foreign affairs of the DRA, met with Javier Perez de Cuellar, United Nations secretary general in New York on Thursday 10 June. Farid Zarif, the permanent representative of the DRA in UN and Diego Cordovez, assistant secretary general were also present at this meeting. [Text] [LD130554 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0441 GMT 13 Jun 82]

KESHTMAND MEETS NFF LEADERS--Kabul, 12 Jun, BAKHTAR--Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA today met the presidents and secretaries of the provincial committees of the National Fatherland Front here today. Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand addressing the provincial leaders of NFF said that during the 1 year that had elapsed since the establishment of the front, it has become a prestigious and influential organization in the society. The prime minister of the DRA stressed that the NFF could become an effective means of ensuring party and state's links with the millions strong masses of the country. [Text] [LD130548 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0452 GMT 13 Jun 82]

CSO: 4600/572



PAPER URGES SEVERING OF U.S.-ARAB RELATIONS

GF121457 Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 12 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Untitled editorial]

[Excerpts] There isn't the least doubt any more about U.S. collusion in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon or about its embroiling Syria as the first step of the suspect strategic cooperation that was established between the United States and Israel--collusion whose bait was swallowed by the entire Arab nation through capitulation that has caused it further collapse and fragmentation.

The U.S.-Israeli collusion in what the Zionist entity has done, is doing and will do in the future is not new or the outcome of this new strategic agreement. The United States has always provided Israel with weapons of aggression, annihilation and genocide in order to further divide the Arab nation, occupy its countries, kill its citizens and usurp their rights.

This is not strange. What is strange is the Arab nation's acceptance of humiliation and servility, as is the case now. The Arab nation, even when it was unarmed, used to revolt, resist and confront [its enemies] on both the official and popular levels.

After all these established facts, what can the Arab nation do to get out of this whirlpool and dark fate?

The first step to get out of this dilemma and expected destiny, even if Beirut is occupied, Damascus snuffed and Baghdad subjugated, the first substantial step should be the adoption of a united Arab stand backed by a comprehensive and collective Islamic support.

Since we do not have the arms to confront the U.S. arsenal, the aspired stand should be to reply firmly to the United States by severing all diplomatic relations with it and establishing rapprochement with the socialist bloc. We will thus convince the United States that it has committed a crime against the Arab nation, that by this disgraceful collusion it has destroyed U.S.-Arab friendship and has completely forfeited the U.S. interests in the region, and that the winning of peoples cannot be achieved by force, subjugation, humiliation or Zionist terrorism. The winning of peoples is achieved through cooperation and acknowledgement of human justice and nonnegotiable rights of all peoples regardless of their religion, color or the size of their country.

CSO: 4400/334

PAPER CALLS FOR EXPULSION OF PHILIP HABIB

GF191440 Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 19 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] This silence and nonchalance of [the capable Arabs] puts them in the league of the conspirators; indeed they became onlookers. As for other Arab regimes, if they offered any assistance, their assistance took the form of denunciations and radio and television wars, nothing else. Even the material aid they are offering is being used by them to await what the outcome of the U.S. plots.

These Arab regimes could have placed effective political and economic pressures on the United States. But they are evidently proving that they are in partnership with Israel in its invasion of Lebanon, with its arms and protection it receives, with all its forms and escalated momentum, its fierce plots and lastly, its evil acts in defiance of the Arabs and the world community through these inhumane massacres which have exceeded those of nazism.

The Arab masses are asking: Where are the other superpowers? How can they allow their inveterate adversary to impose its control over this most geographically and strategically important spot, which is also a most important spot in terms of its reserves of energy, which is used to drive the traditional war machine on the security level, and to drive the agricultural and economic machinery, which is the source of prosperity and development for every country, whether advanced, developing or backward?

Perhaps the first step which Arab regimes must take is to expel Philip Habib, who has proved worse than his Jew predecessor, Kissinger. Let the succeeding steps lead to a unified Arab stand in confrontation of this new fierce invasion, as his highness the prime minister, Shaykh Khalifah ibn Salaman al Khalifah has said, whether these steps be a result of bilateral consultations or an Arab summit that can be held as soon as possible, as the fraternal state of Kuwait is calling for.

CSO: 4400/334



GULF SECURITY LINKED TO NEUTRALITY, DEFENSE, DEMOCRACY

GFO90547 Manama AL-MAWAQIF in Arabic 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Editorial: How To Protect the Gulf's Security Against any Intervention"]

[Text] Gulf security is a new term that has been used much in the Gulf's arena since the fall of Iran's shah and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran. The West felt that a political and military gap was created in the region following the fall of the regime that had always been relied upon to protect the West's essential interests in the region, foremost of which is the access to oil. With the fall of that regime, one of the major U.S. strategic pillars in the region fell too. The United States used to rely on Israel, Turkey and Iran to protect its essential interests and to prevent the Soviets from reaching the oil wells.

Through the succession of events in the region, the imperialist states started to practice a horrible policy of blackmail by implanting fear in the region's states about an imminent invasion from their neighbors in the North at one time and by frightening them about the expansion of the Soviet influence in the region or the impact of the radical and extremist nationalists within the region itself at another. The region was then overwhelmed with these concepts at a time when the Iraqi-Iranian war erupted between the two most powerful states in the region in terms of population and military strength. This came in order to prove the imperialists' point that an imbalance had been created in the Gulf's security and to give them the legitimacy to intervene in the region in order to protect their interests and the security and stability of these states.

In view of the extreme concern about the present circumstances, and in view of the new developments in the Arab arena and the crushing war that has been going on between the two Muslim countries, Iran and Iraq, for the past 20 months, and the terrible military escalation, as well as the ambitions of the superpowers to control the oil wells in the region, rob its resources, undermine the region's sovereignty, exploit it and intervene in its internal affairs, we are urged to pause for a while to ponder our situation with deliberation and wisdom and to think of what might happen to our region--which is witnessing a bloody and fierce conflict that has never been witnessed before in its long history--in the future. We must think of what we should do in such difficult circumstances. How can we protect ourselves and our homeland from dangers? Should we ally with either of the two camps in order to protect our security? Should we build a military power? Will such a power be able

to confront any of the two superpowers? Or what must we do to keep our region out of the circle of international conflict and influence centers?

To answer all these questions we have to lay down an independent Gulf strategy that is capable of representing the region's ambitions and aspirations for security, progress and development. This plan must have clear bases that encompass the following points:

(1) The observance of a balanced policy between the East and the West so that we lean toward neither of them, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, just as we have such relations with the West and the United States, in order not to lose our friendship with either of the two camps. We must also give neither of them the least chance to intervene in our affairs or to undermine our independence and sovereignty because our situation is so very delicate that we cannot align with either of the two parties.

(2) The establishment of a Gulf military power that is capable of protecting our security. The goal of this military power is not to commit aggression against any of the region's states, but rather it is to be considered some kind of a preparation for war in order to prevent war. The superpowers leak to each other some of their military secrets so each camp will know what its enemy possesses and therefore, will not adopt a decision to enter war prior to a deliberate study of its effects on it and on international peace. It is true that we expect no invasion of any of the GCC states no matter what its political or nationalist motives are because such a military action will be denounced by all the world's nations which will resist this aggression against these peaceful peoples and deter those who commit it. However, it is our duty to be prepared to deal with all possibilities.

(3) Reinforcing the internal front, expanding its base and allowing it to participate effectively in decisionmaking and contribute in the planning of general policy. This can be done only in a democratic atmosphere and in the presence of sovereign parliamentary bodies. Security will not prevail in a society unless there is full freedom, because freedom is the fundamental basis for security and without it the society does not enjoy participation in running the country's affairs. It is high time to begin the reinforcement of constitutional and parliamentary institutions and it is time to spread them in the region in order to highlight the civilized face of the Gulf region.

It is true that a citizen in the GCC states lives in prosperity; his sustenance is easily obtained and his income is plentiful. The state offers several services free of charge in the fields of health, education, subsidiaries and necessary services such as electricity, water and transport. The state also spreads security and guarantees the sovereignty of law in the society and spends many millions to guarantee the continuation of these services to all citizens. However, the aspiration to a parliamentary life has become essential in order to complement the civilized face of the region's peoples, who aspire to practice their legislative role and participate in planning the state's general policy. There is no doubt that bolstering the internal front is one of the most important factors of stability and it is a safety valve for all regimes. It also protects and secures the region against any intervention.

CSO: 4400/334

## BRIEFS

AMIR RECEIVES MAURITANIAN ENVOY--Manama, 19 Jun (WAKH)--Shaykh 'Isa ibn Salman al Khalifah, the amir of Bahrain, received here this morning the Mauritanian president's envoy, Dr Abdelrahman Oul (Saybout). The audience was attended by Prime Minister Shaykh Khalifah ibn Salman al Khalifah, Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammad ibn Mubarak al Khalifah and Mauritanian Ambassador to Bahrain (El Mrabet Ould Aslam). Following the audience the Mauritanian envoy said he had delivered to the amir a letter from Mauritanian President Khouma Ould Haydala, president of the Mauritanian National Salvation Committee. He noted that the letter pertains to bilateral relations and means of bolstering them in all fields in addition to a report on current Arab developments and Mauritania's viewpoint on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Iraqi-Iranian war and means to end it, Afro-Arab cooperation, and other matters of mutual interest. The Mauritanian official praised his country's relations with Bahrain. He announced that the amir of Bahrain had given him a reply letter to the Mauritanians president. The Mauritanian envoy arrived in Manama yesterday on a visit to Bahrain at the end of the final leg of his tour of countries of the region. [Text] [GF191005 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0858 GMT 19 Jun 82]

JAPANESE ELECTRICITY AGREEMENT--An electricity agreement was signed at the Bahraini Ministry of Public Works, Electricity and Water between the Bahraini Government and the Japanese company (Somoto Mokoro Batshin). The signatories were Majid al-Jishi, minister of public works, electricity and water, for Bahrain and (Baso Hiko Ripai), director of the electricity department for Middle East affairs of the company. The agreement will provide for constructing eight 66,000 kw branch stations in Bahrain worth BD13 million. [GF171222 Manama Domestic Service in Arabic 1030 GMT 17 Jun 82]

EXPATRIATE LABOR REGULATIONS--Manama--The government is examining methods of easing workers' release procedures to make it easier to change jobs. Labour and Social Affairs Manpower Planning Superintendent Hamud al Khalifah told the official newspaper AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ that the changes would apply when a local contractor stops its activities. He said the Labour Directorate has decided to encourage local transfer of expatriate workers when construction firms finish a large contract to save them the problem of sending all the workers home. But he said the ministry would not tolerate exploitation of expatriates as this was harmful to Bahrain's good reputation. He said the ministry rejected any proposal to "trade" in labourers in any manner at all. [Text] [GF111122 Dubayy KHALEEL TIMES in English 11 Jun 82 p 1]

CSO: 4400/334

RABIN ASSESSES MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS

TA121101 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1014 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Interview with former Prime Minister MK Yitzhaq Rabin by announcer Dan Shilon--live]

[Text] [Question] Good Sabbath to you, MK Yitzhaq Rabin.

[Answer] A good Sabbath.

[Question] In the articles you wrote in this weekend's newspapers, you hailed the success of the Peace for Galilee Operation, profusely praising the military and political echelons. As a former chief of staff, what would you say is the main military achievement?

[Answer] I regard the chief military success as the IDF's successful implementation of the objectives it was entrusted to carry out by the Cabinet. I believe for this operation to be carried out--and it is unique by being, on the one hand, a military campaign against terrorists located in a populated area where in some places it is even densely populated in the midst of towns, large cities and refugee camps; and let us not forget that inside the area between the Israel-Lebanon border and Beirut there are some 250,000 Palestinians who most certainly provide the terrorists with an exceptionally good hideout, and there is need to be able to overcome the terrorists, to sort them out of the other population--all this requires a cautious, yet resolute action. [Sentence as received]

The second part has to do with the battle against the Syrians. In a certain respect, I cannot recall a precedent for such success by the air force. Here we are not talking about an operation against the terrorists. The liquidation of a deployment of surface-to-air missiles that included SAM-2, -3 and -6 units, is unprecedented; and it to a large degree negated the trauma over the failure of the air force operations against missile deployments during the war of attrition and particularly in the course of the Yom Kippur war. It has been proved that the IDF has found a solution--and I hope this is applicable to military targets other than those in the Lebanese Al-Biqa'--nonetheless, the complete wiping out of the Syrian missile deployment is an unbelievable success. The dogfights in which more than 80 Syrian aircraft were downed without one single Israeli aircraft being lost is also an unprecedented event. Not much

has been said about the navy, but it is quietly carrying out many operations of landing and moving forces in addition to shelling, patrolling, imposing a naval siege on many areas along the Lebanese border. I think all this was carried out in a manner that proves that the army was properly and adequately prepared for a military operation and fulfilled it well. Naturally, as in all operations there are problems here and there; but one must look at the overall picture.

[Question] Let us for a moment get back to the subject of the terrorists, who are actually the chief objective of the operation. The terrorists are still there and are still continuing to shoot and it is doubtful whether they will cease shooting in the next few days.

[Answer] It would be worthwhile to remember that the IDF was given an objective. The objective, as given it by the cabinet, was for 40 km, more or less, from the Israeli-Lebanese border to be cleared of the terrorists. The IDF will hold the area in order to make sure that terrorists do not return to that strip. Even though the operation expanded for various reasons and the IDF reached beyond the 40 km on some fronts, we are not witnessing the continued fighting on the outskirts of Beirut as well--in the south and perhaps even those in the southeast--and near the Beirut-Damascus road along the part lying between Beirut and the Lebanese Al-Biq'a', and certainly in certain areas west of the Al-Biq'a' we passed the 40 km.

The war against the terrorists currently takes two forms: one against areas where the PLO can still be found as an element that was suffered a blow, but where it still exists as a fighting element--and I mean southern Beirut first and foremost as well as in other places where it is mixed with the Syrian Army. The other is in the large area captured by the IDF where terrorist squads are still hiding here and there, in groves and orchards, wadis, caves or tunnels, and in the urban areas where the population density is the shield for such a terrorist organization as the PLO.

[Question] And this, in your opinion, is a process that may yet take a long time?

[Answer] Mopping up the area, in my mind, no doubt will take a long time.

[Question] What about the political moves? How would it be possible to guarantee that the [northern] settlements are removed from the terrorists' sources of fire to 40 km away, for a long period of time?

[Answer] The heavy blow that the PLO was dealt, as was the Syrian Army, gives rise to various possibilities: in my opinion, the primary precedence must be decided upon in accordance with the mission the cabinet decided upon when, by its instruction, the IDF launched the Peace for Galilee Operation--namely, to guarantee, through political negotiations, that the 40-km strip would actually be ruled by an international force that will be effective and will be able to prevent the return of the terrorists to that area in any form possible.

[Question] You said an effective international force: Is there here no contradiction in terms?

[Answer] Not necessarily. For example, if the United States participates in an international force in which European and third-world elements also participate...

[Question, Interrupting] Including the Eastern Bloc?

[Answer] I would prefer the Eastern Bloc not to participate because its participation in effect neutralizes the effectiveness of the international force. Nonetheless, such a force could be effective if it really wants to. The IDF should not withdraw--that's my first choice--from there before such arrangements are actually guaranteed. Still, as I said, the heavy blow the PLO was dealt--although it is not yet liquidated, as there are still fighters and headquarters in Beirut and in other places as well and I estimate that in Beirut itself there are at least between 7,000 to 10,000 PLO fighters--plus the fact that the Syrians are still controlling the main part of the Al-Biqa' region and the Beirut-Damascus road and that the Syrians together with the PLO are jointly defending Beirut has not removed the PLO as an element that would determine the future of Lebanon.

The second subject, therefore, after the subject that has the first priority and it is the security of Israel namely the guarantee that the 40-km strip is clear, would be to find a political solution which will no doubt require time which would strengthen independent Lebanon as one national sovereign entity.

[Question] Do you believe the United States will lend a hand, or agree to, the entire process that you have just talked about?

[Answer] I presume the United States would like to exploit the IDF achievements--not necessarily to attain the goals of the State of Israel--but certainly for U.S. objectives. There is no doubt in my mind that the United States has a special interest in improving relations with Syria and also in strengthening the independence of Lebanon, in other words to reinforce the central administration.

CSO: 4400/332



## ISRAEL

### LABOR TO LAUNCH INFORMATION CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE

TA210725 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 21 Jun 82 p 3

[Report by political correspondent Sara Honig]

[Text] Tel Aviv--The Labour Party will launch a diplomatic offensive soon to explain its position of the Lebanese conflict to European socialist parties.

The party plans to send leading members to a number of European capitals in an effort to mitigate the opposition, if not outright hostility, of socialist leaders to the Peace for Galilee Operation and to inform them of Labour's stand on the matter. It will be decided this week which Labour leader will go where.

The move follows a number of statements from European socialists, which have given rise to considerable concern here. Most hostile was Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who went as far as to question the socialist character of the Israel Labour Party and its credentials for membership in the Socialist International. Among those considered friendly to Israel, French President Francois Mitterrand has been the most outspoken in his criticism. Last week's meeting between the French premier and the PLO's Faruq Qaddumi is seen as a calculated slap in the face for Israel.

On top of this are the international's expressions of concern for Lebanese leftist leader Walid Junblatt, which prompted Labour chairman Shim'on Peres to travel to Lebanon last week to confer with Junblatt and report on his situation to the international.

The latest move by the international is to send Portuguese Socialist leader Mario Soares to Israel on a fact-finding mission within the next few days. His terms of reference are far from clear, but it is known that he plans to talk with Peres, visit South Lebanon, and possibly see Junblatt as well.

Peres has spoken to several socialist leaders in recent days. He has stressed that while the Labour Party has some reservations concerning the invasion of Lebanon, it identifies with the basic need to safeguard the Galilee settlements. Many European socialist parties have indicated that they are waiting for Soares' report before taking an official stand. The Socialist International Presidium will convene on his return.

CSO: 4400/332

## RELATIONS WITH PRC DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 30 Apr 82 Weekend Supplement pp 20-21

[Article by Eli Kohen: "Peking-Jerusalem: Low Profile Talks"]

[Text] The Hall of the Chinese People's Congress was silent as the prime minister, also minister of foreign affairs, began his speech on foreign relations. With careful emphasis he cheerfully told his listeners: "We are about to establish normal relations with Israel." These words, spoken by Chou En-lai in September 1954, were well-received both in China and in Israel. No one expected that following this speech, a sharp reversal would take place and that one year later it would be Egypt who would establish close ties with the Chinese.

Relations between Israel and that major world power never returned to the level of 1954, but Israel, during the 34 years of her existence, has sometimes blatantly and sometimes covertly continued to maintain relations with the People's Republic of China--sometimes unusual and at varying levels.

According to a well-known joke, when asked if he had heard about the 3 million Jews living in Israel, Mao Tse-tung countered with: "What hotel are they staying at?" In fact, that giant country of several hundred million people actively courted us at the beginning of the fifties. Today, some 30 years later, the people on the other side of the Great Wall are interested in Israeli products. China receives shipments secretly, via indirect routes, and channels payments into our national pockets through a third party.

By 1941, at the height of World War II, the Chinese Communists had already (8 years before rising to power) formed the principles of their policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict. Dr Yitzhak Shihor of the Hebrew University, who has for 15 years been studying the relations between China and the Middle East, points to an article by Li Wei-han written in May 1941 in the PEOPLE'S DAILY.

The article outlines China's approach to the Middle East question--an approach still espoused by the Chinese today: "Both the Zionists and the Arabs oppose Great Britain. The Arab-Jewish controversy did not rise out of hostility between the two peoples but was rather due to the outside intervention forced on the area. By removing this outside force, the problem will be solved."



## Fear of Washington

The Chinese Communist Republic was declared in October 1949. Israel was among seven of the first nations to recognize the new republic. At the beginning of the fifties, the Chinese were excited about establishing diplomatic relations with us--an excitement which grew out of that country's involvement in the Korean War. The embargo imposed by the United States following the war isolated China from the world. The giant, seeking a friend, was even willing to establish ties with a midget.

In 1950, Israel began making direct contact with China via the USSR, to examine the possibility of establish trade relations. The official response was open and friendly, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jerusalem perceived at the time that establishing relations with China would be like walking on a tight-rope. Moshe Sharet, Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, and the American desk in his office, had to consider the anti-Chinese position held by the United States. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs advised caution because a public declaration of our relations with China would be considered an unfriendly act by the Eisenhower administration, to say the least.

Moshe Sharet, who apparently feared a split with the West, decided to establish indirect, not diplomatic, relations with the East. According to Dr Meron Medzini who specializes in the subject of Chinese-Israeli relations in the fifties: "The Chinese saw Israel as a channel for importing metal products, ships, engines and the like--which were essential following the American embargo.

Every country that aided and supported China at this time became a top priority. In Jerusalem things were viewed differently. Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs thought it important to develop relations with and establish a presence in as many countries as possible, the Chinese issue was not of paramount concern. We could not expect economic, military or any other aid from the Chinese due to the poverty in that developing country. We did not expect Chinese tourists or new immigrants from China. Further, Jerusalem did not, in my opinion, know how to deal with the Chinese issue, because there were almost no Chinese specialists at the time. Asia and Africa were foreign to us, as opposed to America or Europe."

One of the most active diplomats who supported the establishment of diplomatic relations with China was former MK David Hakohen. In his books "Burma Diary" and "Time to Tell," Kohen describes at length his visit to China and his numerous contacts with policy-makers. "Our relations with China are very important. China is considered a great nation in Asia and is granted much respect because it has maintained its independence over the centuries. The Chinese people are industrious and talented...as for Israel--they have no preconceived notions against us." Kohen also writes: "I disclosed my thoughts on establishing large-scale trade relations between the two countries to Sharet. I threw in the idea that we would inevitably become partners in their development plans, in initiating a combined plan with Israel and German firms (by exploiting reparations from Germany). I foresaw a 3-way link: Israeli and Chinese industry supported by Germany technology and raw materials. We could aid in China's development and supply products to the giant market of 700 million people. This would necessitate, of course, a deeper understanding but the political and economic benefits of these initiatives would give us leverage in every Asian country."

Following his 4-week visit to China in 1953 Hakohen began trying to convince the Ministry of Foreign Affairs how important relations with China could be. His stubborn enemy was the Israeli Embassy in Washington which feared the American response to such a move. Intensive, bilateral efforts from the two corners of the earth went on for months, passing across the desk of Moshe Sharet, until a judgment was passed. "In my heart I know that pressure from the embassy in Washington caused Sharet to ignore his earlier intentions to work toward establishing relations with China," wrote Hakohen. "In mid-1954, a clear briefing was sent to all our representatives in countries where China was also represented, saying that they were to limit themselves to polite, friendly, personal relations with the Chinese and that there should be no insinuations made to the effect that the subject of diplomatic relations between China and Israel was under discussion."

Despite the failure of David Hakohen and his friends, the door was not closed. Contact was continued "Because the Chinese continued to court us." At the beginning of 1955, Moshe Sharet announced in the Knesset that an Israeli trade mission, including representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, would leave for China to establish trade relations between the two countries. Several weeks after its departure, David Hakohen, who headed the delegation, announced that they had laid the groundwork for implementing their goals. No concrete steps were taken, however, because at the time the Chinese position was changing. This change was greatly accelerated during the Bandung Conference in April 1955. An Egyptian delegation headed by Gamal Abd al-Nasir and including Palestinian representative Ahmed Shukairi, attended the conference. The Chinese delegation, led by Chou En-lai also included Muslim Chinese representatives, who established friendly ties with the Egyptians.

"Chemistry" did the rest. The long talks between Chou En-lai and Nasir closed the door to Israel-China relations. Even before the "flirt" that took place in Bandung, the two had met in Rangoon on the way to the conference. Nasir asked for military aid. Chou En-lai promised to do what he could with the Russians. The result was quick to come. Within a few months, the well-known Czech-Egyptian deal was signed. Chou En-lai was not satisfied with Egypt's friendship alone and within a few months trade agreements were signed with Syria and Lebanon.

#### Groping and Go-betweens

Israel's policy at the time was the subject of a debate that lasted for years. Supporters of the cautious policy that left us in the cold claimed that balanced, intelligent considerations had indicated that in the long run, after China had established relations with the Arabs, Peking would have cut off its relations with Israel, sooner or later. Those who opposed the policy focused their arguments mainly on the loss of Israel's position in Asia and the Third World (to which China was an entree).

Professor Eli Yofeh, senior lecturer in the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, sees both positions as exaggerated. "I would not define Israel's policy either as a failure or as a wise move, but

as an unhappy fact. It is a pity that diplomatic relations were not established." Dr Shihor adds: "Had relations been established, it is doubtful that China would have cut them off. I cannot recall a single instance when China has broken relations with any country, even in situations of war. On the other hand, it is doubtful that there would have been a significant change in Israel's position in Asia. Therefore, I agree that the two opposing sides were exaggerating."

At the beginning of 1956, the first of a series of announcements from China appeared in HA'ARETZ, the character of which has remained unchanged to this date. Chou En-lai called an Egyptian press conference and attacked Israel and Israeli imperialism.

Experts on the subject are divided as to when this significant change in China's foreign policy occurred. There are those who say that the passionate fanfare of the late forties and early fifties was progressively squelched as we moved into the late fifties. Others are convinced that the real break occurred in the mid-sixties. In various speeches by Chinese leaders in the years from 1956-1958, there were implications made about Israel, without using Israel's name, for example: "We are ready to establish relations with any country that recognizes us" or "Relations with one country are not established at the expense of our relations with another country." But the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jerusalem did not respond. Dr Medzini says that during the second half of the fifties contacts between the two nations continued. Representatives met in European capitals, mainly Stockholm and London. During these years, friendly messages and congratulatory telegrams were exchanged, and several visits were made (one that stands out is a visit by General Yosef Avidor, Reserves, who was then ambassador in Moscow). Dr Medzini treats the formal diplomacy as a barometer of the climate of our relations: "In the late fifties congratulatory notes and platitudes were exchanged. At the beginning of the sixties, even this ended. Good wishes and congratulatory telegrams sent by Israel were returned. At diplomatic meetings and events, the Chinese stamped their feet every time an Israeli representative was present. One exception was the visit of President Shazar to Nepal in 1965. I accompanied him at the time, as his speaker. At all the events we hosted, no Chinese representatives were present. But during a review of Nepalese troops, who were trained by the IDF, the Chinese ambassador himself appeared in the invited visitors' balcony. We did not exchange even one word, but the very fact of his presence was a positive sign. With the Chinese, there is no coincidence. Every invitation, request or inquiry received at the embassy is reported to Peking and Peking issues directives on how to respond."

The "downfall" of Israel-China relations came in the mid-sixties, and was most poignantly expressed by the opening of the first Palestinian office in the world--in Peking. In 1965 Shukairi visited China, was recognized, honored and granted a formal title. Those who are close to the Arab issue say that all the official correspondence sent to Shukairi from the Chinese included effusive openings such as: "Your Excellency."

"China recognized the long-term nationalist revolutionary potential of the PLO," explains Dr Shihor. "In recognizing the PLO and supporting its goals, China was a decade ahead of many other countries. Disenchanted with other

Arab governments, China moved closer to the national liberation movements and, therefore, to the PLO. This radical trend in their foreign policy, stimulated to no small degree by the Cultural Revolution, aggravated China's hatred of Israel and encouraged the Palestinians to resolve the conflict militarily. The approach, in my opinion, emanated from the fact that the Chinese identified Israel as a branch of American imperialism." In Dr Medzini's opinion, it was important to China that the Middle East remain "on a low flame," to hinder any Russian attempts to create a hegemony.

### The Secret of Chinese Cuisine

The philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre was a friend of Dr Eli Ben-Gal. Dr Ben-Gal, a member of Kibbutz Bar-Am, was Mapam's representative in Europe from 1969-1971 and was situated in Paris. In conversations between the two, an idea was born: Sartre would try to feel out the pulse of things in China and if the Chinese agreed, he would set up a meeting with Ben-Gal. The Chinese were willing. Dr Ben-Gal reports: "Over time, an interesting development in our relations took place. First, there were discussions about my personal background, then ideology, and next came prolonged talks on crucial issues. At a certain point I felt that I was becoming an ambassador of sorts, at which time, with their knowledge, I passed the content of the discussions and questions asked to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by Abba Eban. From Jerusalem I received directives related to my contacts. Given these developments, I brought up the subject of establishing diplomatic relations. They avoided the issue and I didn't press it further. It seems to me that the peak of our contact was the mutual agreement to concretize the idea of establishing an Israeli-Chinese friendship association with the Third World.

Happy, even excited, I passed the information on to Jerusalem, but at this point an unpleasant surprise interfered. A reporter from the London OBSERVER had found out about my meetings with the Chinese and the paper printed a screeching headline about Israeli-Chinese negotiations in Paris. In my opinion, this and the publicity which followed the disclosure did not please Moshe Dayan, who was then Abba Eban's rival. Apparently, Eban was forced to instruct me to cut off contact with the Chinese, which I did, with regret--but not for long. Without having paid too much attention to it (because I missed the tastes of the Chinese dishes that had been served to me during our meetings...), I continued to be seen with Chinese representatives in neutral places--friends' homes, coffee houses and the like. Throughout 1972, I kept up this discreet relation, until I returned home."

In 1971, after being accepted as a member of the United Nations and the Security Council, China expanded its ties and established diplomatic relations with many countries in the world. The openness of its foreign policy, expressed by the historic visit of Nixon to China, also caused changes in the tone of relations with Israel. "During that time, there was a perceptible rapprochement between Peking and pro-West governments in the Middle East, such as Jordan and Kuwait," explains Dr Shihor, "while relations with pro-Soviet forces were minimized. Even China's criticism of the Palestinians, mainly due to the split between Peking and Moscow and to the Palestinian dependence on Moscow, became more sharp. In private discussions Chinese leaders recognized not only the right of Israel to exist, which had never been denied, but also Israel's contribution to the advance of China's interests in the Middle East--blocking Soviet expansion."

In talks with people familiar with the subject, we came up with the names of several high-ranking officials throughout the world who tried, at Israel's request, to feel out China's willingness to talk at the beginning of the seventies. Golda Me'ir turned to the president of Italy, Pietro Nani, to present a series of questions to the Chinese, questions related to the possibility of negotiations. The Prime Minister of France at the time, Mendez-France, interceded as well. In his talks with Chou En-lai the Chinese leader did not eliminate the possibility of establishing contacts with Israel. Even the Ethiopian leader, Haile Selasi, was asked to intercede. All these efforts, however, did not result in the establishment of relations. China's official position did not change in the seventies and China continued to instruct its representatives in the United Nations to vote against Israel--a vote which became a tradition.

The death of Mao Tse-tung and the rise of Dang Ciao Ping did not change the trend in China's foreign policy, although the signing of the Camp David accords in 1977 was favorably received. In addition to the softening of relations between diplomats from both countries--in UN corridors and various capitals--as expressed by handshakes and short conversations and an exchange of congratulatory mail, the Chinese media also welcomed the Camp David accords. Experts see the main reason as the exclusion of the USSR from the agreement, which fits China's original notion that the solution would be reached in negotiations between the two sides without outside impositions.

At the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University, Dr Yitzhak Shihor often reads Chinese newspapers. He says with a smile that sometimes it is impressive how closely they follow the events in the Middle East in general, Israel in particular. Dr Shihor found items in the Chinese press about the evacuation of settlers from Sinai, talks on autonomy and even...on the deliberations of the 13 major government committees. Pictures from the West Bank are not uncommon. Around 3 years ago, Dr Shihor opened THE PEOPLE'S DAILY and an article from the Chinese information bureau "hit him between the eyes." The announcement said that China supported the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and their right to establish a state of their own. This was a significant change, he explains, since it had never been mentioned before. The reason for this change in policy line is, in his opinion, an attempt by the Chinese to explain to the Palestinians that the Camp David process is the way to achieve their goals. They used as examples the mutual recognition between Israel and Egypt and the return of the Sinai. They advised the Palestinians to recognize Israel as a means toward implementing their rights. This advice was not accepted by the terrorist organizations, creating a basic rift between them and the Chinese.

#### Trade Relations Vary

Behind the scenes of formal diplomacy, Israel and China have for years maintained relations. The strange thing about these relations is that little Israel exports products to the great world power. The first and most established area, since the fifties, is the export of diamonds. These precious stones make their way from Israel to Hong-Kong where they change hands and pass on to the Jewelry boxes of Peking women. Hong-Kong is one of three intermediary stops. Via Japan and Romania (some say Italy as well) Israel exports textiles and metal products and imports toys, household goods and other small items from China.

The trade magazine BUSINESS WEEK reported a few months ago that deputy Minister of Defense Mordechai Tzipori attributes the large increase in sales of military equipment (Israeli) to new buyers, the newest of whom is China. Two years earlier, in April 1979, the military correspondent for HA'ARETZ, Ze'ev Shif, reported that "an Israeli delegation had secretly visited China at the end of March, and official sources refuse to confirm or deny this." Shif believes "that the results of this visit will only be seen in the future." The article further indicated that the interlocutor between Israel and China is businessman Sha'ul Eizenberg who put his private plane at the delegation's disposal. The plane flew directly from Lod to China with one brief stopover.

Michael Albin, Eizenberg's representative in Israel, denied that any agreement of any kind existed between Eizenberg and China. Much has been written in the foreign press about Israeli arms deals with Taiwan over the last 4 years. Recently FLIGHT magazine published a special report stating that Israel had undoubtedly supplied Taiwan with surface-to-surface "Gabriel" missiles.

Ongoing relations have been maintained in the academic field. Various experts have received invitations to visit China and even to consult in their areas of expertise. In international scientific forums meetings have taken place between Israelis and the Chinese, and in some instances, these contacts have been especially fruitful. A few months ago a conference on Asian studies was held in Chicago. In the framework of the conference a roundtable discussion was conducted on the 1911 revolution (during which the Manchurian dynasty was ousted). Chinese and Taiwanese experts were invited to address the issue--and so was Professor Tzvi Shifrin from Israel. Following the meeting, warm relations were established and the participants did not hide their great esteem for Israel. Professor Shifrin's book on China in 1968 was even translated into Chinese and tens of thousands of copies will be distributed there. To be safe, the translator omitted the author's affiliation--the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

"Israel was--and still is--very interested in establishing diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China," they say at the Ministry of Defense in Jerusalem. Politicians with whom I spoke point out that starting in 1977 a small compromise was reached and now Chinese representatives once again shake hands and exchange polite words at international forums. But a significant change has not yet occurred and "the relations between the two ancient peoples with histories dating back thousands of years are yet to be worked out."

Is there a chance of establishing diplomatic relations in the future?

"China's policy today in the Middle East is pragmatic," explains Dr Rafi Israeli of the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University, "and is not decided by ideological factors alone. Israel serves the interest of blocking Soviet expansion, but recognizing Israel might cost the Chinese a break in their relations with the Third World. This fact stands in the way of policy-makers."

"I couldn't answer that question," says Professor Eli Yofeh, "but it is important to note that the Middle East issue in general is secondary, because it is just one aspect of China's foreign policy with regard to the superpowers. I agree that China's deliberations are cold and calculated. Only if and when it is to their advantage will they establish relations with us."



"Since 1954 there have not, in my opinion, been better conditions for establishing relations between the two countries," believes Dr Yitzhak Shihor. "If the trend of negotiations between the two sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict continues, if talks on autonomy continue and if there is mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel, then diplomatic relations with China will be very realistic."

Dr Meron Medzini agrees with his colleagues and sees the possibility of renewed Israeli-Russian relations as precisely the leverage for establishing relations with China. In his opinion, China's consideration will be not to allow the Soviets to be alone with the two sides, to influence the "secondary players" in the Middle East drama in any way. The Chinese will therefore want to be in a political situation similar to the Russians.

Over the last few weeks China-U.S. relations have cooled off. A few days ago the Chinese officially protested American arms sales to Taiwan. Recently, American foreign policy has been labeled "hegemonism" in the Chinese press--a derogatory term usually reserved for the Kremlin. It is difficult to say whether in the wake of these changes the political climate of China's relations with the Middle East will change as well.

In Peking recently it has been said that the Camp David accords have worn themselves out and that the thrust must be renewed through negotiations. This position, seen as official, will undoubtedly pick up force given the last Israel-Egypt crisis. It is doubtful that the Chinese will be happy with Israel's harsh criticism of Egypt's contact with the PLO, which stands in opposition to their permanent policy of direct negotiations between the two sides in the conflict.

It is difficult to foresee a situation in the near future where an El-Al plane will land in Peking, or a group of Chinese tourists will visit the Knesset. However, we must not forget that only a few years ago no one believed that an El-Al plane would land in Cairo.

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SOVIET NAVY FOLLOWING ISRAELI NAVY MOVEMENTS

TA112115 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 11 Jun 82

[Report by correspondent Mikha Limor including interview with Navy Commander Rear Adm Ze'ev Almog--videotaped]

[Excerpts] For 2 days Soviet Navy ships have been openly following the actions of the Israeli Navy. The Israeli missile ships have so far noticed a Soviet missile-carrying frigate and two Soviet missile ships at a distance of about 20 miles from the Lebanese coast. The Soviet frigate followed and listened in to the operations of the Israeli land and naval forces. The Israeli missile ships operated along the Lebanese shore until the cease-fire took effect.

The navy commander, Rear Adm Ze'ev Almog, is traveling via sea to review and brief the forces.

[Almog] Our major contribution to date was in the aid we extended to the land forces, beginning with landing operations, through the transport of forces along the coastal axis and ending with clearing the axis through bombardments.

[Limor] The main power of the navy is that of the missile ships. Can this power be used in such operations?

[Answer] The power of the missile ships, together with the rest of the components, were given very serious expression by directing very accurate fire along the coastal road axis before the [advancing of the land] force. Thus movement along this axis has been significantly facilitated.

[Question] Read Admiral Almog, do you know of a Soviet presence in the region?

[Answer] Yes, there is a Soviet presence which until yesterday was far away. Yesterday however, a Soviet guided missile destroyer approached a distance of about 30 or 30 miles off Beirut.

[Question] Will this affect the Israeli Navy's operation in one manner or another?

[Answer] It seems not. At this stage the Soviets stood far off, just as their colleagues the American who are sitting [words indistinct].



[Question] On the Golan it is said that the Syrians are not moving a single soldier. Have you noticed Syrian movements at sea?

[Answer] There were movements but up till now these movements did not seem threatening. [End recording]

CSO: 4400/332

ARMS PURCHASED BY GREECE SAID DESTINED FOR ARABS

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 May 82 p 9

[Article by Daniel Dagan: "The Greek Arms Pipeline; Arms Orders Submitted by Greece to West Germany Contradict Policy and Needs of Athens, Showing Intent of Transferring Tanks and Planes to Arab Countries"]

[Text] New arms orders from Greece received in Bonn have raised the suspicion that Athens is planning a "roundabout deal" that will supply Middle East countries with German planes and tanks. A source close to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said that the Greek request will be studied more closely than the requests of other NATO nations.

The Greeks surprised the German officials when they went directly to the arms manufacturers instead of going through political and diplomatic channels. They also surprised the experts because of their interest in weapons systems which according to official assessments are not needed in Greece in the quantities requested.

The Greek move was reminiscent of an unpleasant incident which occurred last year when the chancellor's office in Bonn received a letter from the German manufacturer of the Leopard 1 and 2 tanks, stating that the company had reached an agreement with the Saudi Ministry of Defense for the sale of dozens of Leopard 2 tanks and other military equipment. The agreement specified the price, terms of payment and dates of delivery, followed by a clause making the deal subject to approval by the German Government. A senior official of the government has said that Schmidt reacted angrily to the letter and ordered to send it back without an answer. He was quoted saying that "we will not be subjected to such pressures."

Generally arms deals are made secretly and with maximum discretion. The manufacturers refrain from making any statements, and direct reporters to the official channels. When the joint German-French sale of anti-tank missiles to Syria was disclosed, the German manufacturer refused to make any comments even after several articles on the subject appeared in the press. His sole reaction was that the makers of the Milano missile adhere closely to the letter of the law.

The manufacturer of the Leopard tank, and the manufacturer of the new fighter plane Tornado, have deviated from this policy. In a press release delivered

In Munich they state that Greece shows interest in buying the two new weapons systems. The statement goes on to say that negotiations were conducted to that effect with Deputy Defense Minister Georgis Patasus (the deputy of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu who is also the minister of defense), and the final decision has not yet been reached.

#### "We Will Not Be Subjected to Pressures"

Bonn officials are suspicious of Greece's unusual interest in the most advanced weapons systems at the disposal of West Germany's armor corps and air force. Greece keeps emphasizing its socialist orientation and its opposition to NATO's defense policy. It mentions the possibility of removing American bases from its territory, not holding NATO maneuvers on its land and reducing its defense budget.

Greece's intentions in regard to arms purchases raise questions in Germany also because of the fact that Greece does not hide its desire to act as a European "bridgehead" to the Arab world, not only diplomatically and politically but also in the area of manufacturing and supplying military equipment. During Papandreu's visit to Bonn in February, the Greek prime minister surprised his hosts when he proposed that his country serve as a conduit to transfer weapons to the Arabs. He kept bringing up the idea of his country setting up production of German weapons systems and transferring them to Arab countries and Arab terrorist organizations.

#### Mediation Between Germany and Saudi Arabia

The statements about Greek interest in more Leopard tanks and Tornado airplanes are seen by those close to Schmidt as an attempt to bring political and public pressure to bear on Bonn. They do not discount the possibility that the Greek endeavors are aimed at achieving through the back door what Papandreu was not able to get directly. One should bear in mind that the Saudis are showing an interest in the same weapons systems that interest Greece--the Leopard and the Tornado. Athens is close to Riyadh not only geographically but also politically. Papandreu's Greece has no pangs of conscience fulfilling Saudi demands.

Meanwhile the ministerial defense committee of Schmidt's government has approved a number of rules for exporting arms which are quite flexible in allowing the export of war equipment to other countries, including tension zones. The guidelines for such sales are based on vital German legal and security interests. This liberal formula accords the government freedom of action despite the stipulation that German arms shipments "should not contribute to increasing the tension" in any trouble spot. Norbert Gansel, member of the Bundestag who was able to defeat the Social-democrat leadership at the party's convention in Munich on the issue of arms sales, sees the new rules as making Germany vulnerable to political and economic blackmail. Gansel argues that the rules contradict the decision of the party convention which opposed sale of arms to non-democratic regimes, explicitly mentioning Saudi Arabia, Chile and Turkey.

According to recent assessments in Bonn, Schmidt does not have enough political freedom to sell arms to the Saudis. It appears that Schmidt has planned later

on to suggest to the Saudis to forgo "spectacular" weapons systems (like the Leopard and the Tornado) and make do with other weapons. Sources in Bonn say that the government will try to avoid cooperating with Greece on selling the Saudis tanks and planes which Bonn is not prepared or is not able to sell the Saudis directly.

9565

CSO: 4423/169

CAPTURED ARMS REPORTEDLY INTENDED FOR WORLDWIDE TERRORISM

TA2216016 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 22 Jun 82 p 17

[Commentary by Shmu'el Schnitzer: "Weapons for Whom?"]

[Text] According to a very rough estimate based on the figures of the PLO killed, the number of terrorists captured by the IDF and the estimated number of terrorist organization members trapped in West Beirut, the entire figure for the Palestinian fighting forces in Lebanon has hardly reached 20,000 people. According to the estimate, there were about 1,000 killed. And there are about 5,000 captives. The number of those trapped in Beirut has been estimated at between 5,000-10,000. The total is not particularly impressive.

And it should be recalled that not all of them were Palestinians either. Among the prisoners are people from at least 17 countries, some of them Arabs and some of them Asians and Africans. Some of them have freely admitted having come to Lebanon because of the high wages promised them.

The fact that children were also called into the ranks of the terrorist organizations serves as additional proof of the fact that it is not a question here of a large national movement. Most of the Palestinians, it emerges, are not so willing to fight, even in this Lebanon that has for the last 10 years been the dwelling site of the terrorist organization's command headquarters and even under the conditions of great financial benefits that no revolutionary movement has ever known before, and even in camps where entire power was vested in the hands of the terrorist organizations. All the Palestinians in all the scattered countries could have gone to Lebanon and joined the fighting forces there.

But the great majority decided not to go there and not to join the fight.

The question arises, then, for whom was the vast amount of military equipment discovered in the PLO bunkers in southern Lebanon intended, equipment which several experts said could have armed a million people. For whom were all the hundreds of thousands of weapons, all those thousands of thousands of hand-grenades, all those thousands of tons of various types of explosive materials, hundreds of tanks, thousands of missiles and launchers kept there?

How can the disproportion between the limited manpower and the enormous arsenal be explained? Did the terrorists hope that one day hundreds of thousands of Palestinians would join them from Judaea and Samaria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states? Did they dream of a great "ingathering of the exiles" that would, at one stroke, inflate their ranks and supply the soldiers for the great amounts of arms?

I think that what the IDF discovered in Lebanon and is now being transferred in a multidimensional transportation campaign from the PLO bunkers to the stores of captured equipment in Israel, is not the weapons of the Palestinian terrorist organizations, but the arsenal of all the terrorist and revolutionary movements from all over the Western world. From these stores Khomeyni's Iranian revolutionaries received their weapons and they were grateful to the PLO for many days. It was from those bunkers that the weapons with which Somoza's regime in Nicaragua was overthrown came. It is from those bunkers that the rebels in Salvador are being supplied. It is these arms that are being enjoyed by the anarchists of Germany and Italy, the ambushing murderers of Northern Ireland. Through those bunkers the rulers of the Kremlin were able to foster undermining activities of global dimensions, without any suspicion being attached to them. And the PLO was able to acquire for itself sympathizers and allies in many places in the world, the very same way that the Soviet Union acquired the PLO as an ally: by supplying weapons and giving training and patronage and refuge to political criminals of three continents.

The refuge has been destroyed. The training base has ceased to exist and what is still left of it in Beirut is under siege; nobody goes out or in. The weapons are now being transferred to IDF bases.

And this must leave its mark on the revolutionary movements in distant countries. One of the most important sources of supply (it is not to be assumed that it is the only one) has dried up.

Nobody will be grateful to us for this. Those who shouted in horror and accused us of being involved in genocide will certainly double their cries.

But those against whom the weapons were used will still say amen.

CSO: 4400/333

MILSON ON WEST BANK SITUATION

TA221734 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Interview with West Bank Civilian Administration head Menachem Milson by Dan Margalit; in the studio 22 Jun 82--live]

[Question] Professor Milson will be the one who will actually deal with the public and political side of the Palestinian problem upon the conclusion of the Peace for Galilee Operation--an operation that has changed to a certain extent or to a great extent the face of the arena. Hello, Professor Milson.

[Answer] Shalom, Dan.

[Question] Let us first discuss the question that interests, it seems to me, many people in Israel. In recent months there was a period of noticeable unrest in Judaea and Samaria. Yet now during the fighting, it seems to me that there was almost absolute, if not absolute, quiet. How can this be explained?

[Answer] You are right that during the fighting there was almost absolute quiet. Allow me to be precise and add that this near complete quiet you speak of began as early as mid-April, not just during the days of the fighting. It actually began on 25 or 26 April, even earlier.

[Question] Those interested in causing unrest have not been completely eliminated. How can their silence during these days be explained.

[Answer] Again you are completely right that the pro-PLO elements who controlled positions of power in the territories and led the public activity in the territories since 1976 have not been completely eliminated. They have been hurt and weakened in that the PLO National Guidance Committee was made illegal a number of months ago and a number of town mayors who support the PLO have been dismissed from office--mainly Al-Shak'ah, Karim Khalaf and Tawil. This has hurt the PLO organizations. It has not eliminated it, but it has hurt it and it has led to there not being today a guiding hand for the organization of disturbances. This is one of the explanations for the situation.

[Question] Professor Milson, I want to say something. Do you think that if they were serving in the functions they filled in the past the West Bank, Judaea and Samaria would be stormier during these days?



[Answer] We have a good basis to conjecture. We know that if Al-Shak'ah and Karim Khalaf were in the same positions of power as mayors that they held until their dismissals, not only would there be unrest now and a fear of disquiet which would need to be overcome by the IDF's power and that of other security forces, but immediately after the completion of the Sinai withdrawal they had planned to begin a wave of disturbances. They did not succeed because they simply did not occupy those positions of power.

[Question] What actions then did they take during the days of the fighting?

[Answer] They could not do anything. He who does not hold a position in which he presides over machinery, over budgets, municipal budgets, and who does not have the legal authority to close or open a store, as a mayor is able to do, his public power declines. They sat in their homes, and the journalists who buzzed about them--I do not know why they did so, but there were those who did so--said what they said and they continued their identification with the PLO. However, their public power declined. This is definitely one of the explanations for the fact that the PLO's supporters in the territories and others say that they are an organizing and guiding hand for us to express support for the PLO, those who would like to support the PLO.

[Question] Would it be a wrong and rash conclusion to suppose, in continuation of what you are saying, that the PLO leadership has been dealt a severe military blow in Lebanon and suffered another, a political blow, in the territories.

[Answer] Militarily it was of course dealt a heavy blow in Lebanon--this we know. Politically they have been hit hard in the territories by the activities we undertook in recent months but, as I already said, they were hit hard and weakened, but not eliminated. The inhabitants of the territories are aware that the PLO--which was dealt a very severe military blow in Lebanon--still exists politically. Also, world opinion and international political elements regard the PLO as an element. And this of course influences the positions and expectations of the inhabitants of the territories.

[Question] Is its leadership, or are its men who lead the inhabitants of the territories, still active in a substantial part of the places?

[Answer] Some of them are still in positions of power. Some of them are still town mayors or head of institutions. However, as stated, this organization has been severely injured and their ability to act in a coordinated and organized manner has been hurt. The proof is that they have not succeeded in organizing even one commercial strike; workers from the territories go to their jobs in an orderly way all the time; the matriculation exams were held properly; there have been no disruptions in the course of life. This is despite the fact that Al-Shak'ah wanted to organize all kinds of activities to disrupt life: a commercial strike--he did not even succeed in organizing a commercial strike in his town when he was dismissed from his post.

[Question] In your opinion, is the decline in the PLO leadership's image, as you described it now, sufficient for the political plan of which you are perhaps in charge?

[Answer] It is a decline. I do not think that this job--of weakening the PLO--has been completed. We began to injure them; we have weakened them; but they still exist, and they still have influence. Generally, it must be kept in mind that the political campaign process is prolonged: There is more here than...our objective is not only to hurt the PLO's leaders, but to cultivate conditions for a political dialogue with Israel. That is, there is a process here: We ultimately want to achieve a new political situation in which there is a dialogue with the Arabs of the territories.

[Question] Professor Milson, persons associated with the PLO--I heard them only last night--say that things are not exactly like this, and that as a result of the severe military blow dealt to the PLO, the radicals in Judaea and Samaria--actually PLO men--have been strengthened.

[Answer] Yes, I also heard these statements, which also appeared in print. It is strange that these things are being said by those same Israelis who contend that no political solution is possible without PLO involvement. These pundits who hold this position are the ones who, whenever the PLO suffers either hard military or political blows, tell the Israeli public that this in fact strengthens the PLO's radicals. So they claimed when the town mayors were dismissed. The same pundits said that this in fact strengthens the PLO radicals. In the field we did not see this. The radicals, to use the slang expression, are going about with their nose to the ground. Today, the PLO, as everyone knows, has been dealt a very severe blow, a very hard military blow, and the PLO's supporters are depressed and in great confusion. The field, according to my knowledge of it, does not point to the correctness of this first appraisal. The radicals are not happy, they have not been strengthened, they are in great confusion, they lack organizations, they do not yet know what path to choose. So I do not think that this appraisal is correct. I have the impression that this is an appraisal designed to perplex and demoralize our public, and that whatever we do actually does not help. But this is not the case.

[Question] I suppose that you are taking into account that if not the PLO an alternative leadership for the Palestinians in the territories can come into being.

[Answer] For sure. For sure.

[Question] Are there signs of this?

[Answer] Yes, there are the first signs of this. About a week ago a newspaper started publication on behalf of the area village leagues and it takes a non-PLO line, one advocating negotiations and a political solution with Israel and not Israel's elimination. Only yesterday, there also appeared on television a municipal figure from Bethlehem, a member of the Bethlehem Municipal Council. In answer to the interviewer's question of whether there is an alternative, he said: Certainly, there are other elements in the field who are not the PLO.

[Question] For example, a man like this, Professor Milson, is he a man who in your view came out into the open, publicly, because he feels that the PLO with its threat of terror, has been weakened: or are there other reasons?

[Answer] I think that the PLO's military weakening certainly helps. But, as I said, the PLO still exists as a political element and this affects both the expectations and the fears of inhabitants who are not PLO as well as those who are PLO. That is to say, the PLO still exists as a political element and it also exists as a political element in the international arena.

[Question] Can you paint a picture of, a framework for an alternative leadership that has a chance of rising in Judaea and Samaria?

[Answer] I would not draw a framework because when this leadership rises it will be comprised of various persons. They must have one thing in common: the recognition that it is necessary to reach a political settlement with Israel through negotiations with Israel. It can be supposed that there will be arguments among these circles, over what way they should take. And from Israel's point of view such an argument is completely legitimate. I want to mention the defense minister's words in the Knesset. He said that we are not restricting the political expression of figures in the territories. We do not expect that they will necessarily choose the Israeli interpretation of the Camp David accords. They could be supporters of a connection with Jordan, or supporters of a Palestinian state, or supporters of autonomy, or a federation, or a confederation--just as long as they are not supporters of the PLO and supporters of terrorism.

[Question] But what would happen if, for example, PLO supporters agreed to change their position somewhat and, for example, annulled the famous article 6 in the Palestinian covenant, which calls for the destruction of Israel--would we say that their path is blocked too?

[Answer] The question is not one of a single article in the Palestinian covenant but one of a basic world outlook. It must be recalled that not only has the PLO not recognized the State of Israel but it has not even recognized the very existence of a Jewish people. That is to say, involved here is a world conception that is extremely negative. This conception, therefore, requires and forces upon us a very prolonged struggle. The path to building relations with Palestinians who do not accept this world outlook is not an easy one, and requires much patience and perseverance.

[Question] There is a view that holds that the military operation to weaken the PLO actually does not provide you the opportunity or the way to realize the plan you came to carry out when you accepted the office [of Civilian Administration head], when you moved from academia to the administration. What are the main points of the plan you intend to carry out now?

[Answer] Political plans are determined by the Israeli Government. However, there is a political framework that is the declared political framework of the government and it has the complete backing of the Knesset--this is the framework of Camp David. This framework calls for negotiations in which the

Palestinians who want to can take part, and in this process of Camp David Jordan must be invited to participate. The framework exists and my role, as one who carries out moves in the field, is to create conditions that will make this possible. However, as stated, this is a long process--it is not a matter of a strike in Lebanon, immediately after which a leadership will arise that supports negotiations and peace with Israel. It must be recalled that from the point of view of the Arabs--also those who are not PLO--recognition of Israeli sovereignty and Israel's existence is not a disappointment; this is a thing they must reconcile themselves to and digest. And after they do so, they must draw political conclusions. It will be possible to realize this process when the threat of terror, and the prospect that the PLO will achieve its objectives, no longer exist in their consciousness.

[Question] That is to say that then it will be possible to open real negotiations on the matter of autonomy. This, actually, is the significance of what you are saying.

[Answer] It is to be hoped that then Palestinian elements will arise--and perhaps also Jordan--and that they will join the peace process.

[Question] When in your view will this schedule be set into motion and when will we embark on negotiations of substance on the autonomy issue?

[Answer] I would not fix any schedule because it seems to me that the activity of the Civilian Administration, because it is activity in the field, is continuous activity that must build an infrastructure and create an atmosphere in which Palestinian Arabs who are not PLO will recognize the needs to hold a political dialogue with Israel. This is a long process that is good in every context--that is, if it succeeds it is good in every context. However, I would not fix any schedule.

CSO: 4460/333

## 'DAVAR' ON CONDITIONS FOR LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS

TA181020 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 18 Jun 82 p 14

[Commentary by Daniyel Bloch: "Convenient International Conditions for Negotiations"]

[Text] The argument over the need for the Peace for Galilee war, over its extension beyond the avowed initial objectives and various events that occurred during it will break out in full force at the end of the fighting and will not dissipate quickly. As soon as the fighting ends, the argument will be legitimate and important in the preservation of Israel's democratic stauts. It is also important to clarify whether the government really knew, at each and every stage, what it was deciding, all the implications and the possible results; the argument is important in order for us to know in whose hands we are entrusting our fate and our future.

But this argument must not divert attention from the main issue at this moment: The achievement of a political and security arrangement that will, as far as possible, prevent any temptation for another way by any side whatsoever. The goal of reaching such an arrangement should be shared by all: Those who supported the war wholeheartedly, those who supported it partially or unhappily and those who rejected it completely. Nobody will want us to retreat unilaterally, without an arrangement, thereby turning the bloody price we paid into a vain sacrifice. No one even wants a retreat with half promises which may not with certainty pass the test, as occurred under pressure from the superpowers in the Sinai campaign.

There is a consensus about the starting point for any possible arrangement: No one in Israel wants a single millimeter of Lebanese soil. At the beginning of the existence of the state there were people who thought that the State of Israel's natural border should be the Litani River, but, happily for us, no one thinks so today. There may be certain differences of opinion about the minimal conditions without which the IDF must not leave Lebanese territory. It is also clear to anyone who is well informed about the process of political negotiations that no government presents minimal conditions from the outset. The starting point is the maximum, with space left to maneuver during negotiations. The legitimate internal argument must not weaken the government's bargaining position, especially when, in contrast to differences of opinion about

other sectors, here everyone agrees that Israel has neither any desire nor need to remain in Lebanon for any length of time.

At the moment international conditions are convenient for negotiations on a political and security arrangement in Lebanon. We do not need to be too concerned by condemnatory statements here and there, or by the games of prestige of U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who felt hurt and cheated by the expansion of the targets of the war in Lebanon without his having been included in this from the beginning. It is to be hoped that the prime minister will find a way to calm down President Reagan's anger so the planned meeting between them can be held and the credibility gap bridged between us and the Americans, who have asked several times since Thursday, "Does your cease-fire move on wheels or on tank tracks?"

The prime minister and the cabinet are now presenting the United States and Western countries with assets from the achievement in Lebanon: the collapse of the PLO and the Syrian Army in Lebanon, the Soviet weakness, the Arab countries standing aside with their camps and blocs; with the latter all calling on the United States, Europe and even Egypt to come to fill the vacuum in agreement and coordination with Israel. The United States saved Lebanon's independence once, in 1958. However, in the 1970's because of the Vietnam trauma, it was incapable of playing any role in the Lebanese crisis. Now Jerusalem is offering Washington the possibility of being a stabilizing factor in Lebanon, on a silver platter. Europe, too, with France at its head, can play an important role, one that it did not dare to play when the Christians in Lebanon were exposed to the danger of annihilation, and this was because of the PLO myths and the story about the Arab countries' and Soviet Union's support for the terrorist organization. It turns out that this support was most limited. As long as the PLO was riding high, as long as it succeeded in making waves, they feared to come out against it. But now the false charm has ended and the world can measure its steps along the most logical paths.

It is especially important to see that Egypt takes part in the process of achieving an arrangement in Lebanon. The fact that the peace agreement with Egypt stood the test of the Lebanon war is very important. Where are all those pessimists and prophets of anger who told us that the agreement would rapidly disintegrate. It now turns out that peace expresses a genuine Egyptian interest and not an exercise, a trap or the private lunacy of one man. Still, the peace agreement must not be accepted as something obvious. It must be fostered, watered and strengthened every day. One way to do this is incorporate Egypt in the attempts to achieve an arrangement in Lebanon. This incorporation will prove to the Arab world that Egypt can serve as a bridge for an arrangement between it and Israel, and that only Egypt can do this. The proof of this was supplied to us by the terrorists, who, in their desperation, appealed through Egyptian Minister Butrus Ghali for a cease-fire. Egypt, perhaps, has an interest in being a partner in an arrangement in Lebanon and thus advancing the chance that another Arab country will join the peace process. Israel should not oppose Egypt's incorporation in a multinational force, if it is established, in which Israeli and Lebanese units can also participate, in addition to European and other units.



Israel should also be interested in incorporating France in the achievement of an arrangement in Lebanon. After all, France is responsible for the creation of Lebanon as it existed up to the collapse of its central government, and it certainly has an interest in the renewal of independent Lebanon. Here, then, is a golden opportunity for both the United States and Western Europe to strengthen their positions in the Middle East and prove that they are the only elements capable of leading the way to peace, stability and peaceful solutions to the area's problems.

Except for the PLO leaders, who ran away from the battlefield and left the war to children and young boys, there is undoubtedly not one serious international element that wants the deteriorated situation in Lebanon to go back to what it was. Everyone knows that such a situation would only invite another war and the IDF has proved that it has regained its power, with its famous cleverness from the days of the 6-day war and before that. It cannot be ignored that we can expect many more pressures and threats on the way to a political arrangement. Neither will the Soviets want to disappear completely from the map of the arrangement. The Europeans will also want to prove their credibility to the Arab world by condemnations of and threats to Israel, and the United States will also want to prove that it is not automatically cooperating with Israel. In order to conduct the negotiations for an arrangement in Lebanon, there is, then, a need for much patience and the ability to distinguish between what matters and what does not, and most important of all, the ability to present logical and reasonable political alternatives to the desire to eliminate the PLO's military and political strength.

CSO: 4400/332

TOO MUCH SAID RISKED IN LEBANON WAR

TA221058 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Jun 82 p 9

[Commentary by Yo'el Marcus: "Four Comments in One War"]

[Excerpt] Begin's and Sharon's boasts that the whole cabinet met daily during the war and that not one decision that was not brought before it is actually a smokescreen aiding the fact that the Begin Cabinet at last has a "kitchen." From the flood of interviews given by Sharon to the media in the last few days, in which he expanded greatly on the many hesitations he and the cabinet were having, one paragraph should be noted: "I brought the relevant program to the cabinet, after discussing it with the prime minister and the foreign minister. The three of us had many hesitations even before the subject was brought to the cabinet for approval." (YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 18 June). These great hesitations, it seems, were not shared by the whole cabinet, but only by three people. That means that Sharon, Shamir and Begin were the ones who concocted in advance the whole operation and its final aims: the destruction of the PLO, the fighting with the Syrian forces, moving into Beirut, bringing new order to Lebanon and so forth. This disclosure raises two questions: First, are these aims, which so far beyond what was decided on, or did they think up further moves that we will only find about in the future? And second, did the hesitating trio bring its whole plan to the cabinet for approval at once, or did they do it according to the salami system, every day another slice? Judging from ministers' complaints, the kitchen not only decided on tactical moves against the enemy, but also worked out a tactic on how to turn the cabinet into a rubber stamp. This kitchen, which was forged in the war, is destined to become the ruling factor of the country--the king's council, with Sharon and Shamir as the crown princes.

Many of those who spoke out against going to war against "the big thing" in Lebanon and who pointed out that the dangers and the possible complications are now suffering from the thought that they might have been mistaken. My answer to them is: You have nothing to suffer from, you were not wrong. There were many grave dangers involved in the decision to enter our fifth war: the possibility of an all-out war with the Syrians, the possibility of Soviet intervention, the turning of the peace treaty with Egypt into an empty agreement with all its implications, and the danger of a growing split with the United States. The fact that the worst has not yet happened does not mean that the government did not gamble too much. There is nothing more dangerous than a

mistake turned successful, because it causes overconfidence and the stretching of the rope after which all the things that could have happened but did not, might happen.

Sometimes, when there is grave danger to the state's very existence, there is no choice but to risk everything. In the Lebanese case, the (successful) gamble was too high compared to the results of the war, which are very fluid and very unclear: How long will the IDF have to sit on the outskirts of Beirut? How much time will pass before a bloody war of attrition is opened there? Will a new Lebanese Government be able to really control the situation? Will Israel not be tempted to go into Beirut and north of it? How long will the United States and the Soviet Union accept our presence in Lebanon in a state of dictating conditions? True, the fatal blow to the PLO military infrastructure has brought a moment of grace to possible negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinians, but will this be the government that will be able and willing to come to a deeper territorial compromise? And more important, how much time will pass before we are back to square one, the indistri-  
nate terror, and discover, to use Yizhar Smilansky's words, that we have crushed the problem but have not solved it?

CSO: 4400/333

## ISRAEL

### WEST BANK REACTION TO DEFEAT OF PLO

TA211310 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 0930 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Nabulus, 21 Jun (ITIM)--Many public figures of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District, who are confused and tense, and who--like all the residents of the territories--are following the events in Beirut, broke their silence last week. At the same time as the terrorist organizations' leadership, they too have opened a political information offensive. In a short published statement they blame the rulers of the Arab states for the defeat of the PLO and even say that it was an Arab-U.S.-Israeli plot to exterminate the Palestinian revolution.

Extremist and moderate notables, including all the mayors, have again expressed their full support for the PLO. They have all signed the statement with their full names, but the more moderate ones, like Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj and Gaza Mayor Rashad al-Shawwa tried to avoid a further response when asked for it by an ITIM correspondent.

Notables are convinced that now, after the defeat of the PLO and following statements by Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon that he will soon open an offensive on the subject in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District, the Israeli Government will soon dismiss all the extremist mayors and replace them with people opposing the PLO, mainly from among the area village leagues.

The dismissed mayor of Nabulus, Bassam al-Shak'ah, this week called on all the notables in the West Bank and Gaza to put up a united front regarding what he called the imminent dismissal of nationalist notables. In his statement, Al-Shak'ah warns that future Israeli policy in the territories will be based on what happens in Lebanon, with the aim of exterminating the Palestinian people. In his opinion the Israeli campaign against the national Palestinian organizations in the territories is almost as strong as the present military campaign against the Palestinians and the Lebanese.

This statement by Al-Shak'ah is supported by many mayors, among them those regarded as moderates like the Christian mayors in the Bethlehem area. They added their own touch to their statements on their total rejection of the Civilian Administration, the Camp David accords and the autonomy plan.

Almost all the notables reacted to the defense minister's statement by saying they will continue to refuse to cooperate with the Civilian Administration or recognize it. In contrast, the head of the area village leagues, Mustafa Dudin, said only through negotiations with Israel will the Palestinians be able to retain their national identity and land.

The residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District are deeply concerned about the fate of their family members in Lebanon. They claim that thousands have died in the war, and many thousands are in captivity--among them sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, and so on.

No messages have yet been received from the PLO headquarters or from the International Red Cross identifying those captured or killed. Even the directives usually received by the PLO supporters from the PLO headquarters, through the Jordan bridges, have not been received, mainly since the IDF encircled western Beirut. It seems that in the face of the confusion and worry in the area the mayors and other notables are now trying to take the initiative into their hands and to break the silence and open an information offensive designed to encourage and unite the residents of the territories.

Almost all the known dignitaries have published announcements that "The Israeli invasion has once again revealed that force will not break the will of our people and they will not give in," or that "The PLO is the symbol of the Palestinians and will remain their only legal representative and will not receive dictates of surrender," or "This war will be defeated, just as the war of September 1970 was crushed by the Jordanians and the war on (Tall Az-Za'tar) waged by the Syrians against the Palestinians was." The mufti of Jerusalem, Shaykh Sa'd al-Din al-'Alami, says that the Israelis will not be able to exterminate the Palestinian people, either in this war or in other wars, and all those operations only enhance the hatred of the Palestinians toward it.

The head of the Red Crescent, Dr Haydar 'Abd al-Shafi from Gaza, who is also one of the PLO leaders in the area, says that the United States took part in the planning of the Israeli invasion, which clearly points out the animosity of the United States toward the rights of the Palestinian people and to its intention to exterminate and crush it. The head imam of the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem thinks it is a united U.S.-Israeli plot, enjoying the general Arab silence that calls for the extermination of the Palestinian people. Many other notables talk in the same trend.

The Arab silence worries the notables who accuse the Arab rulers of conspiring in the Zionist-imperialist plot.

The former mayor of Al-Birah, Ibrahim al-Tawil, says that the Arab silence has given Israel the big push to hit the Palestinians. "Where are all the promises of the Arab countries?" asks Al-Tawil. Engineer Ibrahim Daqqaq, an eminent political figure in East Jerusalem and a member of the National Guidance Committee, says that the Palestinians are now paying the heavy blood toll for the freeing of the Arab peoples from the reactionary governments. He called for a deeper alliance between the Palestinians and the Soviet Union and its allies. It should be noted that the main articles in the East Jerusalem Arab press hold the present Arab governments responsible for the disaster of

the Palestinians in Lebanon. They also warn them that their people will not ignore that and that the day will come when their rule will be shaken and disappear from this world.

The residents of the area and their leaders have been shocked, but lately there has been an effort to organize to confront the fate. In Gaza for instance, blood donation centers have been opened for Palestinians injured in the war. This week already some 70 blood units were transferred from Gaza to Lebanon through the International Red Cross. Similar centers are being organized now in Judaea and Samaria as well. The Arab press in East Jerusalem is also calling for various voluntary actions for those injured by the war in Lebanon.

In the meantime there is nervous quiet in the streets of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District, but except for a few small incidents of stone throwing and short protest marches there have been no unusual incidents registered.

CSO: 4400/333



MORE ON WEST BANK REACTION TO WAR

TA211411 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English. 1200 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon has expressed the view that the Arabs of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza will soon be prepared to begin negotiations with Israel in the wake of what has happened in Lebanon. Reporter Gad Levi heard different reports in regard to the new situation. He spoke first to Mustafa Dudin, head of the Hebron area village leagues.

[Begin recording] [Dudin] First of all we condemn the war--any war--we condemn the terrorists, we condemn the bloodshed from any side it comes, but we know that to achieve peace we should have direct negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel.

[Question] Who should be the negotiator on behalf of the Palestinians, Abu 'Ammar? Yasir 'Arafat?

[Answer] I believe the local inhabitants should be the negotiators.

[Question] For instance yourself, as a local inhabitant?

[Answer] Not myself, all the people which are living in the area have the right to discuss their problems and to find their way to the peace. But it is a case of power. The power of 'Arafat did not achieve anything until now, and we saw that all the Arab states waiting to see what will happen and they are laughing. They did not offer anything to the Palestinians.

[Question] My question, my main question today is because of what happened in Lebanon, will there be a new kind of leadership in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip?

[Answer] Whether this happened or did not happen, naturally leadership should take its place in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Because there is no other alternative, the PLO cannot participate in peace solution.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because it is not one organization, it is 18 factions that have different ideologies and this organization was established in 1965, before the war of 1967, on the basis that they want to terminate the Israeli state which

was established before 1967. To this reason first of all these various factions cannot agree on one unified program. [end recording]

Gad Levi also spoke to the editor of AL-FAJR, an East Jerusalem newspaper. Hanna Seniora says that despite the military blow struck at the PLO in the territories it still represents the Palestinians, and perhaps more than ever before. So what kind of solution does Seniora see now, in the wake of what has happened in Lebanon?

[Begin recording] [Seniora] Mr 'Arafat has repeatedly declared that the 8-point plan submitted by Saudi Arabia is a good working paper to start negotiations with Israel and the Palestinians. So far there has been complete dissociation with this plan from the Israeli side, and no sort of understanding for such a plan, which is really a great thing in itself.

[Question] Because it offers an opportunity?

[Answer] Yes. It is one of the main opportunities that present itself now, and I think the Israeli Government, instead of saying that this is a plan for destruction of Israel, this is a plan for coexistence between the Palestinians and Israeli people.

[Question] Is the 8-point plan by somebody who is now the kind of Saudi Arabia, Fahd, is it feasible on the 18th of June 1982? After all that has happened in Lebanon?

[Answer] Yes, it is still feasible because this is the only solution: without the Palestinian state in the region there will not be a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. [End recording]

CSO: 4400/333

## WEST BANK VIEWS ON PLO, AUTONOMY REPORTED

TA191058 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0805 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Excerpts] For the last 2 weeks the inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip have followed the battles in Lebanon with concern and alarm. Many of them feel that the blow dealt to the PLO will have implications for their situation as well. At the end of the week Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon declared that a new situation has now been created and it is possible to hold a dialogue with the Judaea and Samaria Arabs with the aim of creating a new leadership on the basis of coexistence. Gad Levi talked this week with some Judaea and Samaria Palestinians on the new situation:

[Begin recording] [Levi] It was very difficult to get people to speak in East Jerusalem, Ramallah and Hebron the past week. Some reacted furiously to questions, others were prepared for off-the-record comments while only a few were prepared for an open talk on the question of whether the blow dealt to the PLO in Lebanon might lead to the emergence of an alternative leadership in the occupied territories themselves.

[Hanna Seniora, editor of the East Jerusalem AL-FAJR--in English] That is impossible because the PLO probably militarily has been hit but politically the whole Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories adhere and owe allegiance to the PLO as their sole representative.

[Mustafa Dudin, leader of the Hebron Hills Area Village League--in English] Whether this happened or did not happen, naturally a leadership should take place in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, because there is no other alternative. The PLO cannot participate in peace solutions.

The first man to speak here is Hanna Seniora, editor of the East Jerusalem AL-FAJR. Seniora declaredly views himself as a representative of the Palestinians in the West Bank. He says he is, after all, the editor in chief of a paper which expresses the moods in the territories. In his opinion, it is impossible to have an alternative leadership. The PLO may have been hit militarily, but from the political point of view the entire Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories adhere to the PLO and view it as their authentic representative.

Mustafa Dudin, the second man to speak here, is on the opposite side. He was a minister in Jordan and is now a leader of the area village leagues which

enjoy the Civilian Administration's support. Some in Israel view him as a moderate since he is a sworn enemy of the PLO. Dudin says that whether the PLO is defeated or not, the leadership must be established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. There is no choice. The PLO cannot participate in peace solutions.

Let us approach Hanna Seniora. Does he really believe there cannot be an alternative representation to the Palestinians in the West Bank?

[Seniora--in English] That is not possible because Mr 'Arafat is still the leader of the Palestinian people. He is still the only spokesman whom the Palestinian people will listen to.

[Levi--translates and continues] I press him and ask: The PLO is after all an umbrella organization for various kinds of groups--some of which are very radical, such as George Habash's Popular Front and Hawatimah's group. How can 'Arafat represent them all?

[Seniora--in English] The PLO is an umbrella organization of all the Palestinian factions and Mr 'Arafat is the head of the PLO. He is entitled and is the only person who sets policy after consulting with the executive committee of the PLO.

[Levi--translates and continues] 'Arafat, Seniora says, is empowered to decide on policies on his own, after he consults with the PLO's executive members. The talk with Seniora was long and at the end I asked whether the possibility of negotiations is still topical in the middle of June after all that has happened in Lebanon. His reply is positive and he explained why. As far as he is concerned--and many share this opinion--the basis for negotiations is still the 8-point Fahd plan.

[Seniora--in English] Mr 'Arafat has repeatedly declared that the eight-point plan submitted by Saudi Arabia is a good working paper to start negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. So far, the Israeli side has completely dissociated itself from that plan.

[Levi] Some say that deep in his heart Mustafa Dudin is happy about the PLO's defeat. In his opinion, the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will stabilize in 2 or 3 months. The large assemblies will be held and a new leadership will be elected. With a modest smile he rejects the possibility that he will be elected the representative of the Judaea and Samaria Palestinians for the negotiations.

[Dudin--in English] I believe when the terrorists will be terminated that our people have their right to elect freely and frankly their representatives, and then those leadership and the new leadership can decide what the next step: to have negotiations with Israel or to contact Egypt, or to contact Jordan. They can decide what on their behalf.

[Levi--in English] Do you think it will go according to the Camp David plan, the autonomy?

[Dudin--in English] The autonomy, till now, is not very clear to us because Egypt translates it in one kind, Israel in a different, the United States another kind. There is confusion.

ISRAELI-MADE DEVICES USED AGAINST SYRIAN SAM'S

TA110620 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 11 Jun 82 p 4

[Report by Ze'ev Schul]

[Text] Tel Aviv--The destruction of 17 Syrian missile emplacements in the eastern part of Syrian-held central Lebanon early Wednesday marks, in the words of Defence Minister Ari'el Sharon, a "turning point" in the Lebanese campaign.

Observers here see it as a major technological achievement, which should be credited not only to the air force and ground units who made it possible, but also to the unsung men of the military industries' laboratories and testing grounds.

The Soviet SAM-2, -3 and -6 type batteries deployed by the Syrians in the Al-Biqa' valley were all advanced types of anti-aircraft guided-missile systems that have long been the bane of the Israel Air Force and may even have played a major role in the decision not to launch a preemptive strike against Egypt just before the Yom Kippur war.

The "guideline" (SAM-2) and the "Goa" (SAM-3) are mobile developments of an early SAM (fixed site) version.

It would now seem that these obstacles have been overcome.

In a brief televised interview with the commander of the squadron that crippled the SAM's, the officer explained that the destruction of the missiles had involved an "anti-missile" riding the same radar beam used by the missile radar to seek out the intruding aircraft.

The Syrian missiles range of 50 kilometres (SAM-2) effectively covered all of the southern half of Lebanon, including a slice of the northern Golan Heights. This provided protection against Israeli aircraft to PLO marauders and artillery.

CSO: 4400/332

SOCIAL POLICIES OF LIKUD ERA ASSESSED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 May 82 p 11

[Article by Amos Ben Vered: "The Government under the Scalpel; Likud Era Is Subject of Conference Conducted by Social Science Department of Hebrew University"]

[Text] A fundamental change has taken place in Israeli politics since the Likud's rise to power 5 years ago: for the first time since the establishment of the state, Israel is not led by the center. This change has affected, among other things, national consensus on security, according to political scientist Prof Dan Horowitz, director of the Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University.

Economics Professor Yoram Ben Porat maintains that if a visitor from another planet showed up he would not be able to see a change. He compared the policy and the platform of the Alignment before the 1977 election to those of the Likud during the last 5 years and found a close resemblance between the Aridor era and other periods during the Alignment rule, especially during the beginning of the decade.

The foregoing took place during a conference conducted by the social science department of the Hebrew University, on the fifth anniversary of the change of government in Israel, in conjunction with the school's three research institutes--The Levi Eshkol Institute for Economic, Social and Political Research, The Morris Folk Institute for Economic Research, and the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations. The newly enrolled students of the department were able to visit the Mount Scopus campus and meet their teachers for the first time.

While Ben-Gurion has clearly represented the center in the national ideological spectrum, the leaders of the Begin government clearly represent the periphery, said Prof Horowitz. This was said in reference to their place in the total picture, not in their own parties. This affects the possibility of finding broad national consensus in matters of foreign relations and security.

While in the past security considerations were weighed on their own merit, now they have become bound by political considerations, the speaker said. It is not possible today to propose a military-strategic concept that would serve as a basis for a new consensus in security matters. In the question of territories the political outlook influences the various views in regard to the issue of



strategic depth. Also in regard to the use of military force the political views affect the choice of objectives Israel is prepared to fight for.

Nevertheless, one can still find an operative approach that ensures ongoing security, as long as one separates between non-controversial national security issues and issues that are bound by political considerations and are under public debate.

#### No Tug of War

Prof Yoram Ben Porat said that since 1977 the Likud has been run by three main ideological currents, each of which has produced a finance minister, who has steered the economy according to his own lights. There has been no process of tug of war and creating a synthesis within the Likud, the speaker said, as has happened in the Labor party. Hence the economic policy changed from a liberal economy during Ehrlich's term to a national economy during Hurvitz's, to a populist economy a la Herut during Aridor's term.

The Likud platform for the 1977 election stated among other things that the trade deficit would be reduced, that the inflation will be 15 percent per year during the first year, and 10 percent during the following 3 years, that there will be 40 percent economic growth during the 4 years, and other promises in this spirit.

In the 1981 platform many of those promises were abandoned, including: stimulating competition, subsidizing the needy rather than the product, separating the roles of the Histadrut as an employer and a representative of labor, eliminating the operating budget deficit etc. Instead, the new platform promised eliminating unemployment and spoke about "progressive social liberalism." One would be hard put to find a difference between this platform and social-democracy.

A study of the ideological motives behind the deeds shows that only a little of what was promised was carried out according to principles. Ehrlich did away with foreign currency control shortly after taking office, and started the sale of government owned companies (Tfahot etc). But these were only "ideological outbursts" of new ministers before they were stopped by the system and before they themselves became aware of the difficulties involved in implementing such changes.

Hurvitz's economic policy (Prof Ben Porat was one of his advisors) brought about a reduction of dependency on foreign factors, and a decline of 3 percent of private consumption and real income. But it also caused a sharp rise in the inflation. It was a difficult time--the second fuel crisis, which was no less severe than the first. Then came the third trend--increase of 10 percent in real salary and private consumption, increase in import, checking the erosion of social security that started in 1976, but also rise in unemployment. In the speaker's opinion it was sacrificing long range goals for short term gains.

Dr Ehud Shprintzak presented a scientific model of the collapse of the government, explained why it fits in many respects Begin's first government, and

tried to find an explanation why the government managed to stay in power--a scientifically strange phenomenon. The collapse of the government was anticipated because of the loss of credibility of the prime minister, the galloping inflation, the disorders (Alon Moreh, the seized Hadassah house in Hebron, the tents demonstration, burning tires in Jerusalem etc). All of this gave the impression that the state was "an ungovernable body." The public support of the government was 20 percent in regard to economic policy and 40 percent in regard to security policy. Such development are known in the textbooks as "authority crisis."

#### The Model Did Not Work

How did the government extricate itself? Luck, the speaker says. Ministers Weizman, Dayan and Hurvitz, each in his own way, seriously impaired the homogeneity of the government and Begin's leadership. But they quit of their own volition and were replaced by a more harmonious team. Second, the friendly and relaxed policy of al-Sadat neutralized the Peace Now movement and of the extra-parliamentary group on the left. Third, Sharon's decisive settlement policy took the wind out of the sail of extraparliamentary groups on the right. The political destabilization was offset by Aridor's economic policy, which within a few months allayed the fears of the public regarding the economy.

#### Covenant with the Histadrut

The relations between the government and the Histadrut were discussed by Dr Michael Shalev, who touched on the considerable discrepancy between the expectations of the public and the actual outcome. The Histadrut continues to work as partner to the government in all questions of salaries, and undertakes restraining radical groups. In turn, the Histadrut receives full recognition from the government as the central factor in representing labor affairs, which serves its interests. The leaders of the Histadrut agree to this for another reason. They know that without the support of the government they cannot control the workers, and they also know that most of their members at this point are supporters of the Likud. In order not to lose control they have to be cautious and keep in line.

Prof Imanuel Gutman pointed out that there are considerable differences between the Sefardi and Ashkenazi Jews. The former lean toward the Likud, while the latter lean toward the Alignment. Those from North Africa do not vote like those from the Middle East. There is a great difference between big city and development town voters. Also social class (neighborhoods) play a significant role.

Deputy Foreign Minister Yehudah Ben Meri said that the main change in regard to former governments is the principle of the Likud and the NRP that there be no foreign sovereignty west of the Jordan. This outlook has also determined the policy in regard to settlements in Judea and Samaria. This principle was softened in the Camp David accords, following which Israel announced that it demanded sovereignty over Judea and Samaria after the 5 years of the autonomy is a starting position and not as a prerequisite for negotiations. The difference in the execution of the policy is that now "daring steps" are taken politically (not only militarily, as in the case of Entebbe). Among those steps

enumerated the prime minister's initiative of giving up the entire Sinai in the peace negotiations, the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and the Golan Law. All of this has given Israel the image of a state that in critical moments is ready to take risks. It is not the image of a "lunatic state," such as Uganda under Idi Amin. Despite the risk taking there has been progress in international relations, such as the renewal of relations in Africa.

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CSO: 4423/169

INDICATIONS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY SEEN

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 9 May 82 p 9

[Article by Shimshon Ehrlich: "The Governor's Optimism"]

[Text] Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelbaum is optimistic about the state of the economy during the coming year. He says there have been signs of economic recovery during recent months despite the slowdown in areas indicative of economic change such as new construction. The signs of recovery are: increase in retail sales, more collection of added value tax, "recovery of prices," and greater credit demand. During the current year, according to the governor, the GNP will increase by 5 percent, and as a result the business sector will grow by 6 percent.

Economic growth usually produces more jobs, yet Mandelbaum does not expect a change in this area. The public sector will not be hiring new workers, while the private sector does not appear to be seeking additional workers either, because of the artificial raise in cost of employment due to new taxes that force the employer to pay 3 shekels for every salary shekel. One of the results of this cost, according to Mandelbaum, is an increase of only 1 percent of employment in the private sector during the past year, while the volume of business showed a 6 percent growth.

At the same time, the real salary will grow by 3 percent compared to 10 percent last year. Mandelbaum emphasizes the prediction is based on positive expectations. Real salary depends on the strength of the economy, but the decision will be based on the current negotiations between labor and management. There is no way of predicting what the result will be. (In the public sector the only objective limitations are the budgetary decisions of the finance minister). Thus, any predictions about the future of the economy at this time are questionable.

The central and most critical area of the Israeli economy is the balance of payments, reflecting the country's transactions in foreign currency. This area is expected to improve. The total deficit for all goods and services for this year is set at \$3.9 billion compared to \$4.4 billion last year. This improvement is due mainly to a decrease in defense imports in the amount of \$0.5 billion.

The deficit is covered primarily with American grants and loans that are part of a two-way transfer of funds and loans. The one-way transfer of funds will reach this year \$2.8 billion, same as last year.

This year the public sector shows a \$400 million surplus in foreign currency. It is not known yet what will happen in the private sector in this area. The Bank of Israel has encouraged growth of foreign loans by giving borrowers tax exemption. The bank is financing credit for exporters from the same source, instead of using the bank's funds. Mandelbaum does not know how much the private sector will borrow abroad, nor how much of the debt will be paid. These are difficult questions. But the governor of the Bank of Israel is convinced that the balance of foreign currency will not decrease.

The volume of exports will determine the extent of employment and production of the Israeli economy. If exports go down or do not show significant growth, there will be a surplus of goods, productivity and manpower. Mandelbaum expects exports to grow next year by 7 to 8 percent, while industrial exports, excluding diamonds, will grow by 12 percent compared to 15 percent last year. This estimate is based on a prediction of world-wide economic recovery during the third quarter of 1982. If the recovery is slow in coming, export will not grow as expected. If the prediction is correct, unemployment will decrease, since the removal of severe restrictions on credit and the lowering of real interest rates will bring about an increase of investments.

A reduction of the surplus of government demand is being planned in order to help the economy (last year it reached 10 to 12 percent of the production). Mandelbaum emphasizes the need to reduce the government deficit in order to achieve economic recovery. If the government gradually reduces its surplus demand to 5 percent of the production, the economy will begin to recover within 2 years.

What about the complaints of the exporters in regard to the decline in export profitability? Shouldn't the shekel be devaluated in order to stabilize salaries? And what about the growth of financial transactions compared to production and labor? And what about the arguments of importers and economists that increased tax on import and protection of domestic production hurt both the consumer and the economy?

Mandelbaum answers the questions one at a time. First, he does not agree that export profitability is on the decline. This profitability is protected by changes in the rates of exchange that take into account prices here and abroad. At the same time, it is not possible to preserve the profitability of a devaluated currency. There is no mechanism that can compensate the exporter for this. On the other hand, Mandelbaum is against raising the price of imported goods in order to protect the local product. He believes domestic products should compete freely with imports.

Mandelbaum is aware of the fact that financial transactions are far more profitable than production, and that stock market profits that are tax exempt are more attractive than productive economical initiative. He has no solution to this problem. The fact that a large portion of private assets is invested in the stock market protects the market from purely political considerations that

may affect its profitability. Also the fact that inflated stock are used as a large portion of the securities for the bank's credit causes the treasury and the bank to worry lest the whole banking system and, as a result, the entire economy become seriously affected if a sharp drop in the value of stocks occurs.

The appointment of Moshe Mandelbaum as the governor of the Bank of Israel was accompanied by expressions of doubt from various quarters. No one has doubted his qualifications. It was rather his personality that was questioned. Some have wondered whether he would be willing to fight the Ministry of Finance, an inevitable requisite of the job. Today no one is raising those questions any more. It has become clear that the fights of his predecessors were exaggerated, and that Mandelbaum knows how to get his way despite the opposition of the ministry. Thus new appointments in the Bank of Israel were made from within the existing staff, rather than outside political "transplants." The new governor has also found a way of working with the finance minister that seems to be more effective than the fights which in the past have produced more heat than light.

Some officials in the Ministry of Finance have raised the question of putting foreign currency back under the jurisdiction of the ministry instead of the Bank of Israel, the way it was under the Labor government. The outcome of this debate will be further proof as to whether or not Mandelbaum has succeeded in maintaining the balance of powers between him and the ministry that controls the economy.

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OPERATIONS OF ARABIC-LANGUAGE RADIO REPORTED

TA211150 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 17 Jun 82 pp 2, 4 supplement

[Report by Tali Bashan]

[Excerpts] We did not hear the announcements for enemy soldiers that were broadcast at close to 10-minute intervals during the days of the fighting in the north, but hundreds of thousands of civilians, soldiers and terrorists in Lebanon and Syria heard them well, because their radios were constantly tuned to the Israeli Arabic-language broadcasts. In short, Network D.

Emergencies and wars are that network's difficult times. The station is small and, at least as far as the Israelis are concerned, not very well known.

Each report that was broadcast received "feedback." Within hours of the broadcast carrying the instruction to concentrate on the beach, the inhabitants of Tyre arrived there en masse. When Network D suggested that the terrorists lay down their arms, many of them arrived, handed in their arms and surrendered. It so happened that even the PLO radio suggested that its listeners not tune in to that network's broadcasts under any circumstances so as not to be influenced by them.

One would hardly expect the three miserable buildings in Jerusalem housing the Arabic-language station operators to be the "secret" institution that manages to reach 200 million listeners with the countrys' strongest beam (1200 kHz), or that its broadcasts could reach the entire region--Syria, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Libya and, of course, also the Soviet Union.

For obvious reasons, some countries are not too eager to receive this network's broadcasts, and therefore engage in jamming them (which costs outrageous sums of money).

For instance, Egypt at once used such jamming to disrupt the "Voice of Israel" Arabic-language broadcasts, but these were subsequently canceled by President al-Sadat upon the signing of the peace treaty.

The significance of the broadcasts to the Arabs of the region was clear as early as during the war of independence in 1948, and an Arabic radio station



existed even then. However, it came into prominence in 1967. Ever since then Network D has broadcast just like the Voice of Israel in Hebrew, namely from 0600 until midnight, airing talk shows, music, news, newsreels, and even commercials--naturally directed at the Israeli Arab population.

Some programs aired by the network have really become a hit, like the medical affairs bulletin by (Ilana Basri). Inhabitants of the entire area--including Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan--have been sending piles of letters that reach Jerusalem either via the [Jordan River] bridges or neutral countries. Some of them even come here for medical treatment, with Ilana being very constructive in working this out.

You probably have not heard about ("Debbie") either. He is a kind of [word illegible] analyst with a rich vocabulary and flowery style whose real identity no one knows. ("Debbie") bases himself on reliable information about what happens in the Arab countries, and around this information he constructs an entire lecture. ("Debbie") enjoys a high percentage of listeners in the Arab countries, and there are rumors that someone has already "signed a contract" with him.

For 6 years now the network has been a totally independent authority within the radio establishment, even though it is located in its buildings. The radio people themselves will not be able to tell you much about it except that the Voice of Israel grants the Arabic-language broadcasting station technical assistance. The reason for this separation is not at all technical: according to (Edmond S'Hayiq) it was formed as a result of the former broadcasting service personnel's lack of awareness of the Arab-language broadcasts: "We were always the black sheep. Even today, despite the good relations we have with the director of the radio authority, we are experiencing an enormous shortage of manpower and equipment."

Ultimately, all the programs are intended to create trust in the Arab listener. This is the keyword: "All the credibility we gather during times of peace we use in times like now, of war," (S'Hayiq) says. "This is why we work so hard all the time...so that people tune in to us at critical moments, in times of tests." This time, too, the radio station staff did not "lose credit." In order to record announcements, announcers were recruited--but only men, because a female announcer's voice would not have the proper effect or create the proper impression with the Arab, given his mentality. "Here, too, Moshe Hovav [veteran radio announcer] is called in such times rather than Karmit Gay," (S'Hayiq) explained to me. Some of the announcers are Jewish, some are not. About half the staffers are Christian Arabs, although all the newsmen are Arabic-speaking Israelis (most of whom, incidentally, are typical Ashkenazi Jews, like Arnon Gross and Yitzhaq Scheinbaum).

The tiny newsroom is full of equipment. This is the station's "nerve center" where all the broadcasts from the Arab countries are monitored from 0430 through the night, with every important piece of information transmitted to the news department. Since 1958 (Socrates Costa) has been in charge of this room. He is an Egyptian Jew of Greek ancestry.

This week (Costa) and his aides' hands were full. The blackout imposed by the IDF spokesman on events in the north forced the newsmen to follow closely every broadcast by the Lebanese and Syrian radio stations, including the Voice of Lebanon and Radio Monte Carlo.

(Costa), about whom even Egyptian and Lebanese newspapers once wrote feature stories, says that at one time the Voice of the Phalange was actually a branch of the Israeli broadcasts. They were the first to broadcast everything that happened: the entry of the IDF into Beirut and its advance to Sakis' palace.

An "indirect" contact was actually formed with them, I was told: When Network D aired an erroneous report, the Phalange Radio would correct it a few minutes later so that people in Israel would know what the situation was. Thus, for example, when it was reported that the commander of the Christian Phalange, Jumblatt, fell captive, the Voice of Lebanon hurried to announce that this was not true, and that Jumblatt was alive and well in Beirut....

"In times of war," (S'Hayiq) said, "one must be doubly careful in announcing anything. When, for instance, the report on the message Reagan passed on to Begin on possible Soviet intervention in the war arrived, I held it and nearly faced an uprising. The reporters did not understand what I was doing, but I did, because such a report could raise the Syrians' morale, which is why I decided to wait for confirmation."

The confirmation, as we all know, did not come and the report was denied. "I knew I was right in my judgment. Both the leaders and the administrators should remember that if we do not broadcast properly in times of peace, no one will listen to us in times of war."

CSO: 4490/333

## ISRAEL

### GAZA, W. BANK AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS REPORTED

TA131038 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Jun 82 p 13

[Text] In the past year citrus fruit exports in the Gaza Strip totaled 160,000 tons. Some 150,000 tons were sent to Arab countries over the Jordan bridges, and some 10,000 tons were sent to Europe from maritime ports. The figures are culled from data provided by the civilian authorities in Gaza.

In the same year, citrus crops in the Gaza Strip totaled approximately 179,000 tons. Some 9,000 tons went to industrial processing in Israel, and some 10,000 tons were sold on the market in the Strip.

In the past agricultural year, citrus crops in the Gaza Strip amounted to something over 43 percent of local agricultural production, and approximately 13 percent of the citrus output in Israel inside the Green Line.

The volume of agricultural production in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza in the October 1980-September 1981 year totaled approximately IS4.1 billion in current prices, which is 20 percent of agricultural production in Israel. The figures were reported by a spokesman of the Central Statistics Agency.

Out of the above, the value of the production in Judaea and Samaria totaled IS3.1 billion (some 76 percent) and that of Gaza approximately IS1 billion (some 24 percent).

Agriculture in Judaea and Samaria, based to a considerable extent on olives and other crops that do not require irrigation, is subject to sharp yearly oscillations due to differences between the olive crops and to changes in the amount of precipitation. In 1980-81 the olive crop was very small, causing a 12-percent decrease in agricultural production in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza in real terms. This situation followed a 48-percent increase in 1980 and a 19-percent drop in 1979.

## CARDIOLOGISTS LEAVE FOR MOSCOW MEETING

TA171716 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1425 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Ben-Gurion Airport, 17 Jun--A group of 20 Israeli cardiologists, among the country's best doctors for treating heart disease, left this morning on different planes for Europe, from whence they will continue on to Moscow to take part in the 9th World Congress of the International Cardiological Association which opens 20 June at the Kremlin's Congress Palace.

Professor Ya'akov Agmon, head of the Heart Institute at Bellinson Hospital and president of the Israeli Cardiological Association, is leading the delegation. He told me that the date for the congress was set many months ago and that the Soviets had very clearly informed the doctors in Israel that they would receive entrance visas for Moscow. Agmon noted that the Soviets agreed to issue the visas in Geneva and from there have them sent directly to Israel to all those traveling to the Soviet Union. "This was the condition we stipulated to the organizing committee of the 9th world congress and we stated that under no circumstances would we leave for Moscow if the visas were to be waiting for us at the airport," stressed Professor Agmon.

The head of the cardiologists' delegation from Israel also reported that 4,500 cardiologists from around the world are to take part in the 9th world congress and that practical discussions would deal with the latest innovations in diagnosis and the treatment and prevention of coronary diseases. Agmon added that the contribution of Israeli cardiology would be the presentation of about 30 scientific papers and the delegation's participation in symposiums and feature lectures. The main language at the congress will be English, but there will be simultaneous translation into 29 other languages. The congress will end 27 June and afterwards the Soviet hosts will offer the many participants various tours in the Soviet Union. Professor Agmon emphasized that although there was hesitation about going to the Soviet Union in the light of the present situation, the Foreign Ministry recommended the participation of as large a delegation as possible at the congress.

The president of the International Cardiological Association, Professor Henry Neufeld, who is director of the Heart Institute at the Sheba Medical Center in Tel Hashomer, left yesterday morning for the Soviet Union since because of his

high position he had to go there to take part in several representational and administrative events. Professor Neufeld noted that because of his capacity he maintained telephone contact and corresponded for many months with the organizing committee in Moscow and that he was kept involved all along in order to approve the medical topics to be discussed at the congress.

CSO: 4400/332

## BRIEFS

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS--According to the Department of Registration and Statistics of the employment service, 52,357 workers from Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip worked in Israel in May. This figure is unchanged from that of April. [TA150540 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1735 GMT 14 May 82]

ALIGNMENT RESOLUTION ON SETTLEMENT--The Alignment is opposed to any attempt to use the IDF to impose political settlements [hesderim] not included in the government declaration on the "Peace for Galilee" Operation. That was stated yesterday in a resolution issued close to midnight at an urgent Alignment leadership meeting dealing with the results of the military operation. The resolution adds that the occupation of Beirut was not included as an objective of the operation, as the prime minister informed the leaders of the Labor parties. During a discussion attended, among others, by Labor Party chairman Shim'on Peres and MK's Yitzhaq Rabin, Hayim Bar-Lev, Abba Eban, Mordekhay Gur and Victor Shem-tov, it was also stated that the Alignment endorses the government's decision to declare a cease-fire on all the fronts, and expresses the hope that all sides will observe the cease-fire. The resolution adds that the Alignment is convinced that it is in Israel's moral and political interests to secure all the necessary means to avoid harming the civilian population not involved in the battle. [Text] [TA130739 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Jun 82]

CAPTURED TERRORIST EQUIPMENT IN LEBANON--Enormous amount of terrorist weapons and ammunition have fallen into IDF hands since the beginning of the fighting in Lebanon. The volume of equipment captured exceeds everything that had been initially estimated. It has been reported that since the fighting began, the IDF has taken over 400 tanks belonging to the terrorists--as opposed to the 80-100 tanks estimated in their possession. Also captured were hundreds of long-range cannons, large amounts of Katyushas, hundreds of mortars of all types, and hundreds of tons of explosives and ammunition. The vast amount of 100 tons of explosive materials were captured in one solitary bunker. Dozens of IDF trucks loaded with the booty began moving toward our territory yesterday. Squads in charge of locating equipment are searching, among other things, for underground bunkers filled with enormous quantities of ammunition. Toward the end of the week the new Soviet "T-72" tanks were thrown into battle. IDF Merkava tanks hit nine "T-72" tanks, according to a statement made by the chief of staff on the televised "Weekly Newsreel." "T-62" tanks were also found on the

site. Navy Commander Rear Admiral Ze'ev Almog stated in an interview on Saturday that the Soviet Union transferred to the eastern area of the Mediterranean a missile carrying frigate and intelligence vessels at a distance of 20 miles from the coast. The Soviets are now keeping several vessels in this area to observe developments. [Text] [TA131103 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Jun 82 pp 1, 15]

GAZA RESIDENTS WORKING IN ISRAEL--The number of persons from the Gaza Strip going to work each day in Israel has declined substantially over the past 4 days. An ITM correspondent says this is related to inflammatory manifestos being distributed in the Gaza District. An effort was also made to organize a commercial strike and several inciters were arrested. Youths have thronged to refugee camps near the town of Gaza and stoned cars traveling on the main road. No one was hurt. The shortage of workers from the Gaza Strip was affecting factories and public services in the south. [Text] [TA131454 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 13 Jun 82]

GOVERNMENT URGED TO STOP BOMBARDMENTS--The executive committee of Kibbutz Artzi has called on the government to stop immediately the massive bombardments that hit civilian concentrations, because they hurt Israel's moral strength and harm its political and security interests. The Hashomer Hatza'ir Kibbutzim [these kibbutzim constitute the Kibbutz Artzi Kibbutz Movement] have also called on the government to make every effort to ensure a cease-fire in all sectors and the kibbutzim state that the Palestinian problem and that of their relations with Israel will only be solved through political compromise. [Text] [TA132126 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 13 Jun 82]

GASOLINE PRICE INCREASE--The price of petrol was raised at midnight last night in order to adjust prices to the devaluation of the shekel and to the average consumption, which rose during the past year. The Energy Ministry announced last night that 91 octane petrol rose by 5 percent from 13.13 to 13.78 per litre, and 94 octane petrol by 1 percent from 13.70 to 13.84 per litre. Prices were raised in May by about 8 percent. [TA140919 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 13 Jun 82]

GRENADE EXPLOSION IN GAZA--In Gaza, a number of people were wounded this morning by a grenade explosion. The explosion occurred near a vehicle in the center of the city. The grenade was thrown by a person who was not identified. The target and the explosion caused damage to the vehicle and to the people nearby. The police are investigating the case. [Text] [TA140919 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 13 Jun 82]

DAMAGE TO NAHARIYA--The direct damage to Nahariya, a town in the Galilee, was not as serious as was feared. The damage was limited to the destruction of some houses and the damage to the infrastructure. The damage to the infrastructure was estimated at 100 million shekels. The damage to the houses was estimated at 50 million shekels. The damage to the infrastructure was estimated at 100 million shekels. The damage to the houses was estimated at 50 million shekels. [Text] [TA140919 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 13 Jun 82]



DAMAGE IN QIRYAT SHEMONA--The damages incurred by the terrorist shellings in Qiryat Shemona are estimated at 20 million Israeli shekels. Our correspondent Moshe Lustelbaum reports that the damage refers to shops and residential buildings but not to their contents. Some 150 housing units and 20 businesses were hit, most of them in the center of the town. The town's treasurer said the municipal council had not been forced to evacuate the inhabitants from their homes in spite of the shellings. A reinforced team from the income tax authority is meeting the inhabitants and clarifying their demands to enable the speedy payment of compensation. [Text] [TA08134] Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 8 Jun 82]

IMPORTS UP, EXPORTS DOWN--In 1981, 2,984 ships--excluding oil tankers--put in at Israeli ports (an increase of 3 percent compared to 1980). These ships loaded and unloaded 12 million tons of cargo (an increase of 2 percent compared to 1980). The quantity of freight unloaded (imports) increased by 9 percent in 1981 totaling 6 million tons. The quantity of freight loaded (exports) at the ports fell by 4 percent. [TA09053] Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 8 Jun 82 p 10]

AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS UP--Agriculture Minister Simha Ehrlich yesterday announced from the Knesset podium that agricultural exports of fresh produce and processed foods last year totaled \$847 million, representing an increase of 8 percent over the previous year. Minister Ehrlich, reviewing his ministry's activity, said that vegetable exports had increased 50 percent; cotton 16 percent; and peanuts 24 percent. Fresh produce exports had increased by 3 percent, reaching \$600 million, while processed food exports had increased 22 percent, reaching \$248 million. Ehrlich added that citrus exports totaled \$112 million; flowers \$94 million; vegetables \$36 million; and field crops, mostly cotton, \$135 million. [TA09053] Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 8 Jun 82 p 10]

ISRAELI ARABS CONDEMN WAR--The committee of heads of Arab councils in Israel today issued a manifesto concerning the war in Lebanon and demanding that the destructive war, as they phrased it, should be stopped at once and that there should be an unconditional retreat from Lebanon. The committee says that disputes cannot be solved by war, only by mutual recognition of the legitimate rights of the peoples of the area and the Arab's countries. An permanent, stable and just peace is the only solution. A correspondent Haviya Koger points out that at the meeting that was held in Skatshan today, 7 of the 13 members of the committee participated. 4 of the members of the settlements in the triangle did not participate. The heads of the Arab councils expressed willingness to help the UN and the UN to end the war in Lebanon if they are prepared that the commitment will remain the right destination. Committee head Yehuda Goren said, therefore, meet with representatives of the UN and the UN to end the war in Lebanon as will reach the wounded. Our correspondent said that the UN is the democratic front in the committee. The committee is not a political organization, but the committee, which is the democratic front in the committee, issued this. [Text] [TA09053] Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 8 Jun 82 p 10]

MUSLIM COUNCIL NEW APPOINTMENT--A new member was appointed to the Supreme Muslim Council in East Jerusalem a few days ago. He is Ibrahim Daqqaq, who is a former member of the National Guidance Committee, and the chairman of Engineers' Union in Judaea and Samaria. He is also regarded as a communist. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari notes that this step has political importance because it indicates greater ties between Jordan and the Soviet Union. The Supreme Muslim Council is connected with the Ministry in charge of Waqf Affairs [name as heard] in Amman and it could be that Jordan has promised the Soviet Union to strengthen its interests in the territories. [Text] [TA171756 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 17 Jun 82]

NEW W. BANK PAPER--Hebron, 16 Jun--A new paper, UMM AL-QURA (THE MOTHER OF VILLAGES) appeared this week on newspaper stands in Judaea and Samaria on behalf of the Hebron Hills Area Village League headed by Mustafa Dudin. In its editorial the editor writes that the major objective of the paper is "to work for the national goals by ending the occupation and attaining the right to determine our fate via direct negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel, as the experience of 30 years of war convinces us that it is an illusion to succeed by terror and incitement." The ITIM correspondent in Judaea and Samaria notes that the paper publishes the achievements of the area village leagues, known in their opposition to the PLO, ever since they were set up in the region several months ago. It also publishes articles denouncing the corruption within the PLO and Jordan. The commentators use nicknames instead of their names, such as "An observer" "Abu Fu'ad" and others. The editor is Engineer Muhammad Nasir and the paper was printed in DAVAR's printing house in Tel Aviv. [Text] [TA161518 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1455 GMT 16 Jun 82]

CALL FOR ARMED FIGHT--Today leaflets were distributed in mosques on the temple mount and in several mosques in Judaea and Samaria calling for an armed fight against Israel. The leaflets were signed with the title: Holy Jihad. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari comments that this title is one of the names of the groups of Muslim Brotherhood working in the territories. [Text] [TA191813 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 19 Jun 82]

ARMOR-PENETRATING SHELL--Our correspondent Sha'ul Stav reports that in the course of the days of fighting in Lebanon, the IDF employed a new armor-penetrating shell manufactured in Israel. It is the Hetz shell first unveiled about a year ago. The shell's ability to penetrate is greater than in other shells. Our correspondent was told that despite the fact that the outstanding performance of the shell was anticipated, the actual results on the battlefield even exceeded the results of tests carried out by those who developed the shell. [Text] [TA182230 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 2145 GMT 18 Jun 82]

'NATIONAL EMERGENCY' PROCLAIMED--Justice Minister Moshe Nisim signed a regulation yesterday declaring a period of national emergency to be in existence from June 6 to July 14, 1982. This was done in response to a declaration by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon that all IDF soldiers serving during this period are doing "emergency service." The regulation enables these soldiers to defer social, legal and financial obligations until 15 days after their service from emergency ends. [Text] [TA182230 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 2145 GMT 18 Jun 82]

NABULUS AREA VILLAGE LEAGUE--A new village league is organizing in Nabulus. Our correspondent, Pinhas 'Inbari, has learned that over 40 mukhtars from the villages around Nabulus and from the city itself have expressed their willingness to participate in this league. The Hebron Mount Village League has recently published its first mouthpiece, called THE MOTHER OF THE VILLAGES. [Text] [TA211839 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 21 Jun 82]

GOLAN DRUZE UNREST REPORTED--In the last 3 weeks Syrian soldiers have prevented hundreds of Druze living in Syria from reaching the border crossing in Majdal Shams in order to meet there with their relatives from the Golan. This has been reported by our correspondent in the north Menahem Horowitz. The Druze in the Golan explain the Syrian refusal by the war in Lebanon and by the strengthening of the Syrian force in the Golan in the last few weeks. Our correspondent notes that in the last 24 hours a few incidents of disturbing the peace and expressing sympathy with the PLO and Syria were registered in the Druze villages. For example, some Druze extremists in Majdal Shams have destroyed equipment in a local school there, and at a few weddings in this village slogans have been raised in support of the terrorists organizations. [Text] [TA221002 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0925 GMT 22 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/333

## PFLO LEADER ADDRESSES FRONT'S NATIONAL CONGRESS

EA181704 Aden Voice of PFLO in Arabic 1715 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Speech by 'Abd al-Aziz 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qadi, secretary general of the PFLO Central Committee, at opening of Third National Congress of the PFLO in Aden on 17 June--recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrades. During the period between the second and third congresses, four of the 13 members of the central command elected by the Second General National Congress were martyred during the struggle with the enemy's forces. They were: Martyr Commander Ahmad 'Ali al-Mayahi Zahir; martyr Commander Sa'ud al-Marzuqi Sultan; martyr Commander Salim Sa'id Hilal; and martyr Commander Salim (Muhad) Abu Nasir.

With the martyrdom of these heroes, the central command has lost four of its most prominent members. This had a clear effect on its activities and its leadership ability.

It is most significant that our Third General National Congress is convened on this very day. One of the reasons is that, through the convening of our congress today, we wish to declare to all--and let all hear us--that we are adhering to the 9 June glorious revolution. [Applause] We are adhering to its revolutionary stubbornness and its high spirit of resistance. We are continuing with its armed struggle which, from the beginning until today, has been one of the basic and essential forms of the national struggle in the circumstances which affect our beloved country. [Applause]

We wish to declare to all that we are still absolutely determined not to leave Oman [word indistinct]; not to leave it to the British and the Americans and to their agent, Qabus, and the remaining Omani agents who betrayed their people and their national cause in an unparalleled manner.

We wish to declare that, by holding our national congress on this specific national day, the Omani revolution remains; the revolutionaries remain; and setbacks, difficulties and crises--no matter how critical they may become--will not undermine the vigor of the true revolutionaries. (Rather, they will increase their strength, unify them more and more and increase their determination for sacrifices and to continue the struggle until death or victory.)

Comrade delegates. We take advantage of this opening session of the Third General National Congress, more specifically, of this day, 9 June, to extend greetings from the rostrum of Congress to our struggling Omani people, their workers, peasants, herdsmen, fishermen, revolutionary intellectuals, [word indistinct] and soldiers, to the mothers, fathers and relatives of the martyrs of the 9 June revolution, the political detainees who are holding out in the prisons of suppression and torture, their mothers, fathers and relatives, and our comrades who are manning the frontline trenches against the enemy and his organs of suppression.

We extend greetings to all these from this rostrum and from the opening session of the Third General National Congress of the PFLO on the 17th anniversary of the glorious 9 June revolution.

We again promise them all from the rostrum of this congress that we will continue the revolution. We will keep our pledge to the martyrs until victory or death. We are determined to achieve victory and are confident [in] it, although we fix no specific date. The thing that we fix and specify right now is that we will remain revolutionaries for life: If we do this we will inevitably triumph. The mere convening of such a congress is in itself a great gain for us and for our people's cause. Its mere convening is a new sign that we will triumph. Long live the anniversary of our heroic martyrs, long live the 17th anniversary of the glorious 9 June revolution. Complete glory and success for the Third General National Congress. Thanks, and peace be upon you.

CSO: 4400/337

## BRIEFS

SULTAN SENDS CONDOLENCES--His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id has sent a condolence cable to his brother His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz on the occasion of the death of his brother, His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. The cable says in part: The news of the death of His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had a profound impression on us. We convey to you, to your brothers and the members of your generous family our sincerest condolences. We also express our sympathy over this grievous loss. May God's mercy be on him, and may God grant you patience and consolation. From God we are and to Him we return. We are sure that you will continue the procession efficiently, sincerely and without fatigue, and that the fraternal relations that link our two countries will continue--as we wish--to flourish and develop. May God grant us and you success. [Signed] Your brother Qabus ibn Sa'id. [Text] [GF131435 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 13 Jun 82]

OIL REFINERY LOAN--A loan agreement was today signed in Muscat with a number of Omani banks administered by the Afro-Arab Bank of Oman and the Omani National Bank for the Oil Oman Refinery Company Limited. Under the agreement, the oil refinery received a medium-term loan of 7,250,000 Omani rials. [GF201618 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 20 Jun 82]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE--Muhammad Hasan has presented his credentials to French President Francois Mitterrand as Oman's new ambassador to France. [GF200905 Salalah Domestic Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 20 Jun 82]

ENVOY TO ITALY--Salim Isma'il Sarwaa, the new Omani ambassador to Italy, presented his credentials to Italian President Alessandro Pertini in Rome on 11 June. [GF121738 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 12 Jun 82]

END 4400/447

PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

GDR DELEGATION DEPARTS ADEN--General Riss, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and GDR first deputy minister of interior, and his delegation left Aden yesterday evening after an official 1-week visit to our country. During his visit he held discussions which were chaired for Yemen by Brother Col Muhammad 'Abdullah al-Batani, candidate member of the Central Committee and minister of interior. The discussions dealt with the firm relations between the two countries' ministries of interior and with the scope of their future development. [Text] [EA120526 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 10 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/338



## DAILY PAPER RAPS SOVIET 'SILENCE' ON ISRAELI INVASION

GF170550 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Meaning of Silence"]

[Text] After 12 days of barbaric Zionist invasion of Lebanon by sea, air and land, and despite the invaders' concentrated forces and ponderous military machine, the resistance by the Lebanese-Palestinian joint forces remained steadfast and firm, waging the war alone on behalf and in defense of all the Arabs.

Just as the Arab silence was perplexing and the international collusion was clear, the Soviet stand was queer and weird. The Kremlin remained silent for more than 10 long days while the [Palestinian] resistance that is supposed to be its natural ally in the region fought alone. Then the Kremlin spoke through a warning statement whose sentences were vague and ambiguous, except for the sentence which warned Israel that its operations threatened Soviet interests in the Middle East.

Despite the relations between the Soviet Union and the countries of steadfastness and confrontation front, foremost of which is the PLO, and despite the undeniable Soviet aid and support for the PLO in particular, the long silence by a superpower which is a friend and ally of national liberation movements does raise persistent questions.

Had the Kremlin reacted the first day of the Zionist invasion that was well known to everyone, it could have stopped this massacre unprecedented in history. It could have heavily pressured the United States, which protects and supplies the enemy. It could have helped and supported the Palestinian resistance which is fighting alone, not with fighters because it has enough, thank God, but with advanced arms that could repulse and thwart the invasion at an early stage. It could have done a great deal--as we see it--had it not remained silent.

Perhaps we will hear those who rush to defend the Soviet stands, wrong or right, and they are entitled to do so, but we in return are entitled to question the sense of this long period of silence and the recent Soviet statement which was weak in form and purport!

Perhaps we are convinced now that the superpowers have their own interests, policies and strategies with which they measure their moves and on which they build their policies regardless of the empty slogans and the heaps of humanitarian expression incorporated in their political statements. To speak out is something and to act is something else. O Arabs, no one can scratch our backs better than we.

CSO: 4400/336

## RADIO COMMENTARY ON SOVIET STANCE ON LEBANON

GF211345 Doha Domestic Service in Arabic 1030 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Since the beginning of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, observers directed their attention to the various parties concerned with events in the Middle East in an attempt to examine their attitudes and hence to specify the nature of this operation, its dimensions and possible impact on the entire Arab struggle. With regard to the Arab stance, observers realize the permanent and constant fact: mere moral support without the ability to present any positive and concrete action in face of the threat to which the Arab nation, its existence and interests are subjected. The U.S. stance is quite clear and is based on the complete support for Israel and blessing of all its aggressions and provocative violation of all human traditions and international norms.

On the other hand, the Soviet stance is a subject of argument between observers and those concerned with the region's affairs. A number of observers thought that it was almost certain that the Soviet Union would not allow such an invasion to take place, especially since its real objective is to destroy the Palestinian revolution and remove Syrian troops from Lebanon. These observers thought that the Soviets might make an indirect military move in Lebanon to support Palestinian steadfastness in Lebanon, especially since there is a Soviet-Syrian friendship treaty. In fact, these opinions stray far from the truth. The Soviet stance regarding the struggle in the region is governed by a number of elements, one of which is the nature of Soviet interests in the Middle East and the impact of these interests on the direction of the Soviet move in the region.

First, Soviet interests in the region, if compared with U.S. interests, are insufficient for the Soviets to take a risk that may involve them in a dangerous confrontation with the United States. The second factor is the nature of Soviet policy, which is based on absolute political and material support in the form of arms supply and aid without military interference, especially in regions which do not directly threaten the security of the Soviet Union. The third factor is the absence of a unified Arab stance which could help create a favorable climate for understanding between the Arabs and Soviets

about steps that should be taken to achieve Arab goals, safeguard the Soviet interests in the region, and at the same time determine the dimensions of the Arab world's relations with both the Eastern and Western camps.

The fourth factor is the diminishment of the role played by the Soviets in the Middle East following the Egyptian-Israeli reconciliation treaty and the emergence of the United States as a major force affecting events of the region. The fifth and last factor is Soviet avoidance of anything that might worsen relations with the United States, especially after the current deterioration in these relations.

Generally speaking, listeners, the major element in any confrontation with the Israeli enemy should be the Arabs themselves with all their material and human energies.

CSO: 4400/336

## PAPER COMMENTS ON U.S. VETO, LEBANON

CE111650 Al-Dammam Al-SAWM in Arabic 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Editorial: "The Missing Part"]

[Text] Once again--and it's not the last time--an edict by the champion of human rights which is shedding tears at the state of human rights throughout the world gives Zionism the right to kill and destroy Arabs--all Arabs and not just the Palestinians. The United States has announced its veto to world public opinion and called on the "tartars" of our age to continue their barbaric march of destruction to wipe out terrorist Arabs. Washington says that the veto was exercised because the Security Council resolution was unbalanced. The resolution calls on the Zionist entity to withdraw before its forces wipe the last Palestinian off the earth. Where is the "balance" Washington is asking for?

Five years ago Washington received 99 percent of the cards for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict from the biggest Arab power. The result was the Camp David accords which froze Egypt's Arab role. The role which Egypt played was a generous one, but it could not deliver the last of the solution cards because very simply Egypt did not have it. In those years the United States searched with all its power and resources for this missing card. When it imagined that it had found it, it threw in the barbaric Zionist invasion with ground, air and naval forces in an attempt to find that missing card, and consequently make all the parties complete the golden chain of Zionist security which will surround pampered Israel on all sides so that Israel can rest assured--the security chain having been completed on the Egyptian side.

Despite all that is happening, neither Washington nor anyone else in the world can understand the feelings of the simple Arab. Millions of Arabs throughout the Arab homeland have in their hearts that missing part for which Washington and Tel Aviv are looking. Washington and Tel Aviv do not realize that if storms and winds move the vast Arab deserts their sands will blind the eyes.

Let us stop shedding tears for Arab [words missing] accusations, vituperation and hatred. All this will not drive the barbaric armies away from Lebanon. The divided hands must be united instead of each twisting the other. Otherwise, all of us will become another Lebanon or Palestine, whether after 1 or 100 years.

Let us remember God's words: "God does not change the condition of a people until they change themselves." (Koran)

END: 4400337

DAILY MOCKS U.S. STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS

CFI 59640 Jidda AL-MAD'NAH in Arabic 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Freedom in the View of the 'Free' World"]

[Excerpts] For more than 7 years, southern Lebanon has been steadfastly receiving Israel's brutal blows. It has gotten used to raids day and night; these raids are a daily occurrence in the south.

The "free world," which sees and hears of these daily Israeli massacres, turns its back on and closes its eyes to them, believing that the "Butcher" knows his work better than others; this is the law of freedom which this world approves; it is a new kind of freedom which only the "free world" knows.

Human rights in the United States is an issue for which all organs have been mobilized and for which slogans have been repeated everywhere. However, the U.S. administration firmly locks its doors in the face of the Third World--there are no rights for the man of this planet because he was created to be stepped on, attacked and plundered, and to have his land and properties usurped.

The "free world" has been pressing hard against us, as if we were a dish in the hands of a hungry man or loot or captives of war. So hapless--indeed we should have already--to use our hands properly; we must awaken when we receive a slap. It is unreasonable to extend our hand for help only to lose some of our fingers. It is unreasonable to continue to be kind while being badly treated.

The efforts by the U.S. envoy Habib are some sort of kindness which our plight will not allow any more. It is a role that must stop because it lacks clarity and neutrality, if not innocence.

But there must be someone to force Lebanon to stop. Let's wait and see what happens.

PAPER URGES U.S. PRESSURE ON ISRAEL

GF181150 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0830 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Excerpt] Manama, 18 Jun (WAKH)--The Saudi newspaper 'UKAZ discusses the Saudi stand on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. 'UKAZ says that the stand expressed by King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz to U.S. Vice President George Bush on the Lebanese crisis is in harmony with UN Security Council resolutions calling for Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all Lebanese territory. 'UKAZ says the United States must realize that the illusion which Zionism has led it to believe--that an Israeli victory in Lebanon is a victory over Soviet arms--means that the Arabs have to pay the price of this game in Lebanese and Palestinian blood.

'UKAZ affirms that under King Fahd's leadership Saudi Arabia will continue the march begun by the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz, the founder of the kingdom. This march is a constant affirmation of the independence of our country and the Gulf, Arab and Muslim countries of any great power. 'UKAZ adds that this does not mean remaining silent in the face of the aggression that is taking place against the Arabs with U.S. encouragement or blessing. Saudi Arabia was clear when it told the U.S. vice president that the United States must immediately seek to implement UN resolutions calling for a cease-fire and an immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces in view of the U.S. ability to compel Israel to withdraw by withholding arms.

In conclusion 'UKAZ calls on the Arab countries to unite their ranks because a collective stand is stronger and more effective.

CSO: 4400/337



ENVOY EXCHANGES CABLES WITH AL-JUMAYYIL

NC171400 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] Lebanese forces Commander Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil has received a cable from Saudi Ambassador to Lebanon Lt Gen 'Ali al-Sha'ir. The cable was conveyed by Saudi Charge d'Affaires Abu Bakr Rafi'. In his cable the Saudi ambassador calls on Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil to adopt a historic Lebanese stand commensurate with the objectives of the Lebanese-Palestinian stand so as to preserve Lebanon's safety and the Palestinian presence.

The cable says: We have learned that you have responded to our call for an end to statements that harm the sentiments of the Muslims and the Palestinians in east Beirut, particularly during these difficult circumstances through which fraternal Lebanon is passing. While deeply appreciating this response, we call on you to adopt a historic Lebanese stand commensurate with the objectives of the Lebanese-Palestinian stand so as to preserve Lebanon's safety and the Palestinian presence and so as not to allow the enemy of Lebanon to achieve his objectives. You will thus win the sentiments of the Muslims and the hearts of the Arabs. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia will adopt a noble stand toward you that will be commensurate with your anticipated response.

Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil answered with a cable, the text of which is as follows: We thank you for your cable and we affirm to you our response to your good offices. We also affirm to you our constant and firm desire to confront the ordeal hand-in-hand with the Muslims of Lebanon, our partners in destiny. We also affirm to you our clear and frank stand in rallying around President Sarkis to save the homeland. We hope that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia will help us in the saving process.

CSO: 4400/337

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH SWEDEN--An agreement on technical cooperation was signed today in Al-Ta'if between Saudi Arabia and Sweden. The agreement, designed to promote cooperation between the two countries in the field of transportation in Saudi Arabia, covers railway lines, roads and transport. [GF211947 Riyadh Domestic Television Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 21 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/337

OIL MINISTER COMMENTS ON FUTURE PETROLEUM DEMANDS

LD211418 Kuwait KUNA in English 1116 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Kuwait, 21 Jun (KUNA)--The United Arab Emirates Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Dr Mani' Sa'id al-Utabyah has expressed the conviction that the present glut in the world oil market will disappear shortly and called on all industrialized nations to refrain from any pressures on OPEC member states to reduce the present market crude price of 34 dollars per barrel.

"It should like at this juncture to alert industrialized oil consuming countries about any temptation to exploit the present slack state of the oil market or to exert artificial pressures to reduce oil prices even further," Dr 'Utaybah was quoted by the ARAB GULF JOURNAL as saying.

"OPEC members will not be impotent in the face of such threats, but will resort to production adjustment policies in order to protect present price levels," Dr 'Utaybah said. "Any such tactics would not augur well for future relationships between the two parties, and would impose further pressures on the world economy," he added.

The UAE minister of petroleum and mineral resources said that stability would return to the oil market and the demand for crude oil would be reactivated "once the factors which have led to the present surplus have disappeared."

Dr 'Utaybah said that the pricing formula adopted at the OPEC conference in Abu Dhabi last December represented a return by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to a "unified price system as well as a tangible contribution by OPEC member countries toward the stability of the oil market." "Further proof of OPEC's good intentions can be seen in the decision to freeze oil prices until the end of 1982," he added.

Dr 'Utaybah advocated "a more balanced relationship between alternative sources of energy and oil". Such a balance must be based on the understanding that because of its uses the importance of oil is far greater than that of any other energy source," he said.

"We should cut back the use of oil and its derivatives as a cheap source of energy and place greater reliance on coal, nuclear and solar energy to fulfill this function." "At the same time, oil must keep its role as the leading energy source, and it would not be allowed to lose this position," he added.

The UAE minister said that though OPEC called for a rational use of oil and supported the conservation measures of oil-importing countries, OPEC member states "attached great importance to selling their oil at the right price preserving their share of the market."

He said that the present sluggish demand for oil had negative repercussions on the earnings and consequently on the domestic and external commitments of OPEC member states. "Consequently, oil producers will find that they must stand together in order to defend current price levels and thwart any attempt to achieve further reductions when there is no economic or commercial justification," he added.

Dr 'Utaybah disclosed that his country was intensifying its exploration efforts in order to increase its proven reserves and increase its production in future. He said that one of the oil companies operating in the country, ADCO, had found new reserves which amount to nearly three times the quantity produced during the past 3 years.

He said that his country did not find any contradiction between its present exploration efforts and the current slack world demand for oil. "This, after all, is a transitory phenomenon which is not likely to be long-lived. Demand for oil will grow and the oil market will improve again," he added.

CSO: 4400/335

DAILY PAPER CALLS FOR GULF ACTION AGAINST U.S.

GF100800 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 8 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Why Do the Arab Gulf Countries Keep Silent Like the Rest?"]

[Text] What do the Arab Gulf countries say about what the Zionist invaders are now doing in Lebanon? What the Zionists are perpetrating in this Arab country is more than a crime because the enemy is occupying Lebanese territory and towns and killing the Lebanese and Palestinian citizens indiscriminately and collectively. If this situation continues against this disgraceful Arab silence, we will lose this country like the Golan, the Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem and the Zionists will profane our Islamic and Christian sanctuaries in Lebanon, like they did in Jerusalem and the Abrahamian sanctuary.

The Arab Gulf countries can stop this Zionist crime if they want to. This can only be achieved when these countries raise the threatening stick to the United States and when they announce that they have halted oil tankers to the West. There is nothing new about this stand except the practical exercise of self-defense, because Gulf oil propels the U.S. economic and military machine, without which Israel would have never burned the cities and the civilization in Lebanon.

Lebanon, in land, part of the Arab sovereignty? Is not Lebanon in people, part of the Arab people? What is the difference between the Gulf land and the Lebanese land, Iraqi land, or the Holy Jerusalem? If the Arab Gulf countries were busy with conferences and visits just for the sake of ending the fighting between two Muslim countries, how will their stand be on the enemy of Arabs and Muslims who does not know any other language except the language of annexation, occupation and killing?

The Arab Gulf countries are requested to use the economic weapon, as they agreed to do at Arab summits. These countries are requested to fight with this weapon in order to be in an equal situation with those brothers of Arabism and its tenets who are being crushed by the U.S. war machine through the Israeli enemy. The Arab Gulf countries are requested to call for implementation of the joint Arab defense agreement to defend the sovereignty of Lebanon, exactly as they called for this stand with regard to other issues.

The Arab Gulf countries are requested to defend themselves and listen to the voices of their citizens in order to save our nation which is being exposed to

killing, humiliation and aggression against honor and sanctuaries because who profaned the holy mosque of Al-Aqsa, slaughtered worshippers there, and "Judaized" Palestine will never forget his avidities in the Gulf oil fields and will not hesitate to profane the land and sanctuaries of our region.

O God be witness that we have warned and cautioned. Let whoever has ears that can hear, eyes that can see, and hearts that can hurt move: the brothers of blood and tenet are being killed these days by our silences or the fortunes of the Arabs.

CSO: 4400/335

## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### EMIRATES NEWS AGENCY'S' STRUCTURE, ACTIVITIES OUTLINED

GF221500 [Editorial Report] Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic at 1200 GMT on 22 June 1982 carried an approximately 3,000-word report on the fifth anniversary of the beginning of operations by the EMIRATES NEWS AGENCY, WAM. The agency has 9 employees in its editorial department, 5 in the English department, 30 reporters and correspondents, 23 employees in the photography department, 21 employees in the news cinematography departments, 2 in the archives department and 9 employees in administration. During the period 1 January 1982-31 March 1982 WAM covered 4,862 news stories in the 7 amirates of the UAE as well as 827 television stories and distributed 15,931 pictures.

WAM has a special network for transmitting photographs to the UAE's eight daily papers and supplies the UAE's television stations with local television films. WAM has reporters in Tunis, Jordan, Cairo, Beirut, Paris, London, Washington and New York who send their stories by telex, telephone or direct line.

In the first quarter of 1982 WAM transmitted 5,935 news stories; it transmitted 6,488 stories during the same period in 1981. WAM has exchange agreements with about 30 Arab and foreign news agencies, but only 12 percent of the news it transmits are the fruit of these agreements. WAM has bilateral agreements with INA, TAP, MAP, SANA, KYODO and YONGTAP. WAM receives WAKH transmission via a duplex teleprinter line and transmits it on its general network without alteration. WAM also supplies the pool of nonaligned news agencies with selected reports through the nonaligned news agency's regional office in Baghdad. Some news reports are sent by the pool directly to TANJUG and to the secretariat of the Nonaligned Coordination Bureau in New Delhi. WAM is also a member of member of the Union of Arab News Agencies.

WAM transmits by RTT to WAKH, which receives WAM's transmission throughout the day "and selects items which WAKH includes in its internal and external transmission. Similar arrangements exist with KUNA, QNA and SPA."

WAM transmits on a frequency of 14764 kHz--a WAKH frequency--which covers the Middle East from "Beirut to Rabat and from Tehran to Cyprus. All news agencies within this range can receive WAM's transmission. Transmission times are from 1000 [0600 GMT] to 0100 [2100 GMT] UAE time. WAM also transmits on 12255 kHz during the evening period." WAM's budget is part of the budget of the UAE Ministry of Information and Culture. Any enquiries can be addressed to: WAM, P.O. Box 3790, Abu Dhabi, UAR. Telephone: 327770.  
CSO: 4400/335



## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### BRIEFS

OIL INSTALLATIONS INAUGURATED--Shaykh Sultan ibn Muhammad al-Qasimi, member of the Supreme Council of the UAE and ruler of Ash-Shariqah, today inaugurated the oil installations of Al-Saj'ah District. The installations for the liquifying of gas are in a large complex. Oil will be pumped from the complex to Al-Hummariyah sea port in 8-inch wide pipelines for a distance of 20 miles. [GF201950 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1745 GMT 20 Jun 82]

ILLEGAL RESIDENTS--UAE authorities arrested 20 Asians of different nationalities in Abu Dhabi yesterday. Those arrested were residing illegally in the UAE. [GF111750 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 11 Jun 82 p 2]

BLOOD DONATION CAMPAIGN INAUGURATED--Shaykh Humayd ibn Rashid Al-Nu'aymi, member of the UAE Supreme Council and ruler of 'Ajman, this morning inaugurated the campaign of blood donations for the brothers struggling on the field of honor in the Arab land of Lebanon at the Central Hospital in 'Ajman. He donated the quantity of blood prescribed by the blood bank at the hospital. His highness called on the citizens, Arabs and Muslims working in the Emirate of 'Ajman to donate blood, saying this is a religious and national duty. He emphasized the need for donating blood to save the wounded on the field of defense of the Arab nation and its dignity against the barbaric Zionist invasion. Shaykh al-Nu'aymi expressed his readiness to dispatch volunteers to the front on board a special airliner at his own cost. Meanwhile, his wife has called on women citizens and Arab residents not to hesitate to carry out this important national duty by donating blood and making other contributions at the Umm al-Mu'minin Society or at the medical center in 'Ajman for the martyrs' families. [Excerpts] [GF121038 Abu Dhabi Domestic Service in Arabic 0930 GMT 12 Jun 82]

VOLUNTEERS FOR LEBANON--'Ajman, 11 Jun (WAKH)--Shaykh Humayd al-Nu'aymi, member of the UAE Supreme Council and ruler of 'Ajman, today called on employees of local departments to volunteer to fight with the resistance in Lebanon. He said the volunteers' salaries will be paid to them on their return or to their families if they are martyred. Shaykh Humayd appealed to citizens and residents to donate blood and contribute money for the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. He himself contributed 3 million dirhams for the families of Palestinian and Lebanese martyrs. [Summary] [GF111025 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1907 GMT 11 Jun 82]

LOAN TO SEYCHELLES--Seychelles has signed a loan agreement with the Abu Dhabi Arab Economic Development Fund to finance two roads and water projects. The loan will be repaid over 12 years with a 2-year grace period. [GF110820 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1730 GMT 10 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/335

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO KING FAHD

GF131955 Sana'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 13 Jun 82

["Text" of condolence cable from YAR President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih to Saudi King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and Crown Prince 'Abdallah ibn Waabd al-'Aziz dated 13 June--read by announcer]

[Text] His Majesty King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, king of fraternal Saudi Arabia, His Royal Highness Crown Prince 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Riyadh. With profound sorrow, regret, grief and pain, we received the news of the death of His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. His death was not only a loss to the kingdom of Saudi Arabia but also to the Arab and Islamic nations.

On behalf of all the Yemeni people, I express my profound condolences and sincere fraternal consolation to you, to their highness the princes and through you to the fraternal Arab Saudi people on this huge catastrophe. I look to Almighty God asking Him to grant you the ability to endure this painful catastrophe, to grant the deceased mercy and allow him to dwell in spacious heaven, and to grant you, together with their highnesses the princes and the Saudi people, patience and consolation. We pray your succession will be a continuous victory to all the noble values for which the deceased worked in order to serve his Arab and Islamic nation. We also ask the Almighty to keep you and not make you witness any harm to those you believe.

Strength comes only from God. From God we are and to Him we return.

CSO: 4400/338

FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES VARIOUS POLICY ISSUES

San'a AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 24 Apr 82 p 3

[Interview with 'Ali Lutf al-Thawr, minister of foreign affairs, by Muhammad al-Zubaydi: "Thanks to the Wise Leadership of the President and Commander, Our Country Now Has a Presence and Respect on the International Political Map and Fields of Action"; date and place not specified]

/Text/ We are not the only ones who are viewing the conditions in our Arab nation at the present time as it increases its self-alienation and neglects its causes, or, more accurately, neglects the reasons for taking a rigid stand vis-a-vis its seminal causes. Since political circles, with the attributes of clear vision they possess, can delineate the aspects of the picture in greater detail, AL-THAWRAH turned to our brother 'Ali Lutf al-Thawr, the minister of foreign affairs, and put a number of questions related to our foreign policy in the Arab and international contexts to him. Here is the text of the questions and the answers to them:

/Question/ What is your evaluation of our foreign policy in the Arab and international contexts?

/Answer/ It has become possible for any observer to perceive and sense our foreign policy in the Arab and international contexts in theory and practice through our country's international presence in various creative international fields and activities. One can state with confidence that this wise policy, thanks to our country's political leadership, which is vigilantly watching over its guidance and administration under the presidency of our brother Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, the president and commander general of the armed forces, has afforded the country opportunities to acquire a more distinctive, positive presence and respect on the international political map and fields of action than at any time in the past. For this reason, our evaluation of our policy does not arise from our emotions, nor is it embodied in painting rosy pictures aimed at making claims and provocative statements--rather, it arises from the results and practices which our country's presence and its participation in Arab and international contexts in investigating human issues and trying to work to solve them embody. The importance and weight which this presence represents, in addition to the constant growth in our international relations, our bilateral relations with the various countries and areas of the world, and what that signifies and means for the interests and aspirations of our country should not be absent from our mind. I can say that our international presence and the growth of our ongoing relations, in addition to our country's political participation in the Arab and international contexts

through international conferences and numerous activities, by means of international and regional organizations in a manner which expresses our interests and premises and the conferences and symposia our country has started to host and call for, which are then held in our historic capital, are all phenomena and items of evidence which in our opinion will enable anyone following them to evaluate our foreign policy and the great extent of the transformation we have brought about. This reaffirms that Yemen is no longer an unknown entity but that it has become well known in its brilliant form, which compensates for the bitter historic circumstances our country has gone through. Here we consider that our country's foreign policy roles, areas of interest and results prompt us to be proud of what has been achieved and to be optimistic and ambitious about attaining more results which will ensure progress toward the best of goals and objectives that will not deviate from the premises of our September revolution or the hopes and aspirations of the members of our people and our beloved country.

/Question/ What is your diagnosis of the ailments and maladies in the Arab world? What are the most wholesome remedies to these?

/Answer/ Arab ailments and maladies are in reality of the same substance as the problems countries newly liberated and emancipated from colonialist control and the various forms of it are suffering from. That is, they are the normal results of the legacy which developing countries, or what are known as the countries of the third world and the backward countries in the six continents, are suffering from.

While it has been the lot of our Arab world, and its peoples and countries, to have a thorough, excessive share of these problems, the alien hostile body that has been transmitted and imposed on the state of our Arab nation, indeed on the heart of our region, has also been added to them, with the purpose, for its own part and that of those behind it, of spreading distress through every form of plunder. This of necessity requires that the Arab nation gather up its fragmented parts in order to confront the aggression through solidarity and unification of forces and to avoid side effects and peripheral problems, through carefully studied planning, unified decisions, the sound use of Arab material and economic resources and the creation of comprehensive Arab development. Before and after this, support for the revolution of the Palestinian people, and their legitimate leadership, must occupy a position of precedence and priority in the list of Arab concerns.

/Question/ Do you, through your participation in ordinary and emergency Arab gatherings, consider that it is in the Arabs' power to realize a strong Arab solidarity serving their interests and causes?

/Answer/ The fact is that the Arabs' resources, I mean their expressions of interest and approaches to one another, are not so bad as to inspire despair, nor do they take the form that some entities that are hostile to Arab solidarity and integration try to portray. This means that efforts are being made to implant cooperation and solidarity which enjoy a good status that broadens hope and causes the opportunities for them to take hold and flourish to grow day by day.

/Question/ Is there a feeling among Arabs that the weapon of talk and the unleashing of statements have had their day? What is the alternative?

/Answer/ There is no doubt that the element of time will have its effect in developing notions and views among Arab peoples and regimes. In addition, the confrontations that have occurred throughout modern history, and the various misguided steps and transformations, will gradually offer an objective climate for maturity and purposefulness. There now are people who consider that dialogue, meetings and other forms of common activity are a means and medium for mutual understanding aimed at repelling and reducing problems and obviating chances for them to proliferate. This requires that negative harsh practices which deepen and inflate problems be eliminated. As I pointed out before, the alternative that exists is the only possible one for bringing relations and values into dominance which express the spirit of the age and are in harmony with the demands of our current Arab stage.

/Question/ It is well known that our country is making tireless efforts to purify the atmosphere in the Arab world. Where have these efforts got, and what have the dividends of the president and commander's travels been?

/Answer/ Efforts at reform which have the goal of cleansing the atmosphere in the Arab world arise from our country's policy of principle toward the Arab world's causes. Our brother the president and commander 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, the president and commander general of the armed forces, is devoting great attention to this aspect, through unremitting effort and constant labor, in order to devote good attention and proper, encouraging understanding to it. The message our brother the president and commander received from the secretary general of the Arab League Mr Chedli El Klibi at the end of last month, expressing the utmost appreciation for the president's efforts to purify the atmosphere in the Arab world, to prevent the deterioration of conditions and to contain and deal with sudden crises, is only one item of proof of the firmness of the platform and the unswerving nature of the points of emphasis which are aimed at creating a climate of Arab solidarity which is capable of confronting dangers and challenges. That is what we are striving toward in our foreign policy, since our country has prepared a working paper on ways to realize solidarity and common Arab action. This paper will be presented at the next Arab summit conference, God willing.

/Question/ What about Yemeni unity? What have the efforts of the unity committees produced? Can one predict a specific time for the attainment of such unity, in the foreseeable future?

/Answer/ Yemeni unity is a goal with which our Yemeni people in the north and the south are constantly involved. It lives in their conscience and permeates their premises and traditions. The committees' efforts are continuing. Some of them, such as the constitutional committee, which has submitted its work in the form of formulas and points of departure that were approved by the committee for submission to the leaders in both segments, have completed their missions. As far as foretelling a specific time for the attainment of unity in the foreseeable future, as you put it, goes, unity, as you know, is a process of constant interaction, practice and sacrifice. As long as that is the case, the social and economic manifestations of unity will proceed to develop; as long as it is a goal which is not plagued by doubt, and people's intentions are firmly fixed and serious with regard to providing the wherewithal for the attainment of unity, its consummation will



come about soon, with God's permission, because the factors for its success and prosperity are present. That is the situation; what is needed is not a decision, but the order to implant it and carry it out.

/Question/ What is your evaluation of the nonaligned movement, as a rallying cry and as practical reality?

/Answer/ The countries in the nonaligned movement are still anxious to express their relative respect for the rallying cry and its practical reality. To this day, it is still in one form or another the most faithful format or context to the foundations and points of emphasis on which the movement was founded, in an age of changes, contradictions and proliferating allegiances. Therefore although there are members in the nonaligned movement who have deviated or aligned themselves, the movement, as a rallying cry and in its practical application, among the people who are committed to it and carry it out, in the course of meetings and conferences, is still a voice of realism which one can rely on and an arena in whose name it is possible to render judgment and control. As far as commitment goes, that, as we know, is moral.

/Question/ What efforts is our country making with respect to the problem of the Iraq-Iran war or what is called the Gulf war?

/Answer/ Our country's efforts with respect to the war that has been going on between the two countries is characterized by a concern to have both parties respond to the voice of reason, to stop the bloodshed, and to draw away from everything that will cause an inflammation or detonation of the crisis, out of our awareness that the war that is relentlessly going on is between two neighboring Moslem countries. There is a common link between the two which makes it mandatory to stop the fighting and to save our strength for a cause which is more fruitful and deserving of exertion and sacrifice--the liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine and confrontation of the enemies of Arabhood and Islam and the dangers that are menacing our world and our nation. Our country has proceeded from the premise of these perceptions, and has called upon the two belligerent parties, and still is calling on them, to cease their fire and embrace reason and the settlement of the problems which have caused the war through sound means. However, the aggravation of incidents on the battlefield and the intensity of the struggle have thwarted all efforts and this frustration has increased the rigidity of the Iranian party, which has started to constitute a threat to neighboring countries and the stability and security of the region, inspiring more anxiety over the effects which the continuation of the struggle will leave here and there, even on the seminal Arab cause.

/Question/ Would it be possible to shed some light on the results of the seventh session of the Yemeni-Saudi coordinating council's meetings?

/Answer/ The meetings of the seventh session of the Yemeni-Saudi coordinating council achieved positive, advanced results in the fields of joint constructive cooperation on behalf of our two countries. This time the convening of the council marked a further consolidation of flourishing fraternal relations which are founded on mutual respect and bases which will guarantee that they continue to



evolve and that their bonds are strengthened. Approaches that had previously been discussed in the previous sessions were rounded out.

Some agreements, loans and aid were concluded which will contribute to the costs of some second 5-year plan projects which our brethren in Saudi Arabia had previously committed themselves to supporting and to help executing, in accordance with bilateral relations between our two countries, in a manner serving mutual interests and developing mutual cooperation.

/Question/ Finally, what are our diplomatic circumstances, and what is the total number of our embassies in the Arab world and internationally?

/Answer/ Our diplomatic circumstances are proceeding along the road to progress and prosperous growth, in view of the work that is continuously being done in the realm of the diplomatic corps and its domestic and foreign structure, from the injection of qualified young blood into the diplomatic apparatus on the one hand and increased representation via bilateral diplomatic relations with various countries and nations in the world, the interest taken by many of our country's representatives abroad whom the ministry send out to equip themselves with expertise and knowledge which will provide them with qualifications, and new developments that are arising in our country. In general, these matters have come to constitute a forward turn in improving the performance of our missions abroad. In addition to that, the ministry has provided various means for communicating with its delegations abroad. All this, as I have said, indicates a tangible improvement in the diplomatic situation and it has also started to yield good, promising dividends at the same time for further improvements and development, God willing.

As for the number of our embassies in the Arab countries and the other countries of the world, there are 17 Yemeni embassies in Arab countries and 16 embassies in the nations and countries of the foreign world, in addition to our permanent delegations to such international organizations as the United Nations and the League of Arab States and our non-resident diplomatic representation in many other countries.

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CSO: 4404/476

BRIEFS

CONSTRUCTION AGREEMENT WITH PRC--San'a', 21 Jun (QNA)--An agreement was signed today with a Chinese [PRC] company to expand and improve the 20 km long road to the Sana'a' International Airport at a cost of Yemeni riyals 10.5 million. The agreement was signed by engineer Muhammad Husayn Jaghman, minister of municipalities and housing, on behalf of the YAR, and the provincial director of the company in Sana'a' on behalf of the company. [Text] [GF220914 Doha QNA in Arabic 1830 GMT 21 Jun 82]

FLYING BRIGADE DIRECTOR GENERAL APPOINTED--Presidential edict number 36 for the year 1982 was issued today. Its first article orders the appointment of Brother 'Abd al-Rahman 'Ali Nu'man as director general of the air force brigade [Muhafizan Liliwa' al-Jaww]. The second article states that this order is effective at the time it is issued and published in the official newspaper. Issued at the Presidential Palace on 25 Sha'ban 1402 Hegira corresponding to 16 June 1982. [Signed] Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the republic and commander in chief of the armed forces; Prime Minister Dr 'Abd al-Karim al-'Iryani; local government Minister Lutfi al-Kilabi. [Text] [GF161815 San'a' Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 16 Jun 82]

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July 8, 1982